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FBIS-EEU-92-189 *29 September 1992*

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Slovenia

TANJUG reports that on the eve of a meeting between the foreign ministers of Slovenia and Croatia, President Milan Kucan stated: "Slovenia's relations with Croatia have reached their lowest point ever." He added: "Disagreements on important inter-state matters could easily widen the split."

Croatia

Goran Hadzic, president of the Republic of Serb Krajina (RSK), proposed at an assembly session that the "Assembly initiate a meeting of all Serbian parliaments." TANJUG reports that Hadzic said "there was no longer any reason to wait for the formation of an alliance of Serbian states." RSK Prime Minister Zdravko Zecevic noted: "We are committed to an alliance of Serbian states, and the first step in that direction is a protocol by the governments of the RSK and the Serb Republic in Bosnia-Hercegovina on sharing a series of functions."

Bosnia-Hercegovina

Following a report that members of the Yugoslav Army had begun withdrawing from "Prevlaka and the broader area of Konavli," the Information Service of the 2d Army of Yugoslavia issued a denial, TANJUG reports. The Information Service announcement stated: "The members of the Yugoslav Army's Podgorica Corps deployed east of Dubrovnik are carrying out their regular tasks in line with the commanding body's orders. Not a single soldier or officer, not a single piece of equipment belonging to the Podgorica Corps—that is, the 2d Army—has been withdrawn from this area. Nor has such a move been planned."

Hungary

During a speech at the opening of the Rhine-Main-Danube canal in Nuremburg, Prime Minister Jozsef Antall stated that "Hungary considered it a new source of tensions that Slovakia aimed to alter the shipping route of the Danube and to unilaterally divert the Danube, which was declared a border-river in the 1947 peace treaty," MTI reports. Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar said that he was "disappointed" in the speech and that he believed raising the problem at this forum was "in poor taste." Bavarian Prime Minister Streibel offered to mediate negotiations between Prague, Bratislava, and Budapest on the issue.

Czechoslovakia

According to Prague radio, the Council of State Defense "recommended" to Vaclav Klaus and Vladimir Meciar, chairmen of the republic councils, that "they appoint plenipotentiaries to tackle tasks related to the development of both national armies." The council "authorized" Imrich Andrejcak, Czechoslovak defense minister, "to draft the relevant agreement-based solution for the cooperation of the national armies."

Poland

PAP reports that during a meeting with Lithuanian Prime Minister Aleksandras Abisala, President Lech Walesa said: "Poland and Lithuania must learn to cooperate with each other, if they are not to waste the opportunities which lie before them." Abisala also met with Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski "to discuss the problems of cross-border traffic and security in the Baltic region" and with Prime Minister Suchocka to discuss the "problems of ethnic minorities."

Volume of Trade With South Korea Expands

AU2809134392 Sofia BTA in English 1216 GMT 28 Sep 92

[Text] Sofia, September 28 (BTA)—This year the trade between Bulgaria and South Korea is expected to reach about 50 million dollars' worth.

Our trade with Poland amounts to 600 million dollars but on the whole trade with Poland, Hungary, Czecho-Slovakia and Romania is on the decline, only the volume of trade with Bulgaria has marked an increase, Mr. Jong Tai Li [spelling as received], director of the South Korean Business Centre in Sofia, said. According to Mr. Li, South Korean businessmen see in Bulgaria a bridge for a breakthrough in the markets of the former Soviet Republics—Russia, Ukraine, Moldova.

Trade between Bulgaria and South Korea jumped from nine million in 1988 to 29 million dollars in 1989. In 1990 it went up by about 10 million dollars but declined to 25 million in 1991. In Mr. Li's view, this was the consequence of the moratorium on the servicing of Bulgaria's foreign debt imposed by the government at that time. This year South Korea is expected to import into Bulgaria more than 25 million dollars' worth of goods and Bulgaria's exports to South Korea are expected to reach about 23 million dollars.

It is mainly motor cars that boosted South Korean export to Bulgaria this year—their number is 1,000, including 800 Hyundai-made ones. South Korean consumer electronics is well met in the Bulgarian market.

South Korea's main interest is in Bulgaria's building materials, aluminum, copper, iron, raw materials used in pharmaceutics and agricultural products.

Besides the big Daewoo, Hyundai, Samsung and Gold Star, about 100 smaller South Korean companies have also established business contacts with Bulgarian partners which use the services of the South Korean business centre opened in Sofia. According to its director, Mr. Li, one of the major problems in carrying out trade with Bulgaria is that the Bulgarian banks do not guarantee transactions and do not open short-term letters of credit. The Bulgarian banks' high interest rates also impede trade. Another problem has been recently added to the other ones, Mr. Li said. Now South Korean businessmen have got to pay not only customs duty on the goods exported to Bulgaria but also make an advance payment of profit taxes.

Loan Obtained for Developing Telecommunications

AU2809160092 Sofia BTA in English 1444 GMT 28 Sep 92

[Text] Sofia, September 28 (BTA)—The European Investment Bank (EIB) has advanced ECU [European Currency Unit] 70 million for the building of a new digital telecommunications network in Bulgaria. The contract was signed here today by EIB Vice President Hans Dieborg and the director of the Bulgarian Post and Telecommunications Inc., Mr. Mariyan Dragostinov.

The loan is released for the modernization and expansion of the Bulgarian telecommunications network which includes the construction of 11 transit telephone exchanges, a new international exchange, a land station for satellite communications of the Intersalt type, 1,700 km. of optical fibre and a control centre. The entire project will cost about $220 million or about ECU 165 million. About 120 million ECU or 160 million U.S. dollars will be granted by international banking institutions and the remaining sum will have to be provided by the Bulgarian side. The European Bank for Reconstruction and Development has granted ECU 32 million and ECU 15 million are expected from the World Bank.

The project was elaborated by Bulgarian experts in 1988 and updated by experts of the PHARE [Economic Reconstruction Aid for Poland and Hungary] programme who have been working in Bulgaria for two years now. Tenders are invited for the realization of the project, the deadline being the end of October. So far tender dossiers have been bought by 54 companies. The implementation of the project will start at the beginning of 1993 and should end in late 1996.

The loan is favourable for Bulgaria, Mr. Stefan Sofiyanski, chairman of the Telecommunications Committee, said after the signing of the contract. It is granted to the company which will implement the project. The state only guarantees the credit which will have to be repaid in 17 years with a five-year grace period.

Socialist Party Leader Rejects Dealing With SDS

AU2909102692 Sofia NOVINI in Bulgarian 22 Sep 92 p 1

[Interview with Dr. Petur Dertliev, leader of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party, by Boryana Kostova; place and date not given: "I Do Not Offer My Hand to Fascists and Reactionaries"]

[Text] [Kostova] During the last few days the political situation in Bulgaria has become very heated. Calls are being made for the resignation of the chairman of parliament; Filip Dimitrov's government is very likely to fall; and there is talk of new elections. The power of the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] has been seriously shaken, and the Dark Blues [SDS members] no longer conceal their aggressive intentions of holding onto power at all costs. In your opinion, how will the present situation develop?

[Dertliev] I was the first to sound the warning bell about the danger of fascism, at a time when others remained silent. Our party also began the struggle against monarchism as one of the forms of restoration. We have warned the public for a long time that the economic policy of the SDS will lead the country into disaster, so why then did some people not want to listen to us? Just

remember what criticisms were leveled against me because I expelled Pushkarov. Why did I expel him? It was because he committed the party to an economic policy that would clearly be disastrous for Bulgaria. We do not need to agitate against restoration, since there can be no compromises in the face of this trend that is being imposed upon us.

[Kostova] When you say restoration, what do you imply is being restored?

[Dertliev] The SDS is pushing the country toward a restoration of the regime existing prior to 9 September [1944], toward a restoration of the speculative capital accumulated during the war. I did not remain dumb, nor will I remain dumb in the future, nor will I stand apart from the struggle against blue totalitarianism. That is clear.

[Kostova] Mr. Dertliev, do you believe that the predictions of early new elections are realistic? I have in mind that now is possibly the most favorable time for the SDS to call them.

[Dertliev] In my view, now is the least unfavorable time for them because things will become increasingly more difficult for them in the future. However much they try to further consolidate themselves in power, the troubles that Thatcherism is bringing to Bulgaria are clearly evident. At first it was said that they were temporary difficulties. It was asserted that things would start to sort themselves out in a month or two. The pensioners were promised pension increases when the property of totalitarianism was confiscated, but this did not happen. At present they are playing the same old game again, except that their sights are now on the property of the Bulgarian Union for Physical Culture and Sports, the Hunting and Fishing Union, and so on. All this amounts to shows put on to appeal to the people's elementary emotions. To make such things state policy and to use them to delude the people into thinking that you will correct the situation, is just like a ploy by a fairground promoter.

Bulgaria has not sunk into a hopeless situation, but we need a change in the model of the reform to rescue the country from its difficulties. Since we are very fond of the Americans, let us remember that, just as Reagan and Bush, this country also had a great man called Roosevelt. He was the man who rescued his country from the crisis. Why then do we not start off along his American path? Many people are under the illusion that they can solve our national problems by socialist adjustments to the policies. However, this is no longer possible. It is impossible without a new economic approach. As far as the elections are concerned, I believe that they will pass us by this time as well, and the conflicts will be suppressed.

[Kostova] Would you offer your hand again to the SDS, and in what circumstances?

[Dertliev] I have never collaborated with fascists and reactionaries.

Zhelev Justifies Criticism of SDS, Policies

AU2909112492 Sofia BTA in English 1005 GMT 29 Sep 92

[Text] Sofia, September 29 (BTA)—"I criticized some aspects of the policy pursued by the government which narrowed its political space and which I believed to be wrong. My aim was to draw the attention of the government to these issues and to make it win broader political support through overcoming the negative tendencies because it is having a hard time as it is," President Zhelyu Zhelev says in an interview for DEMOKRATSIYA, the daily of the ruling coalition of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS).

In his interview Dr. Zhelev expresses his surprise over the fact that instead of discussing the problems raised by him—the attitude of the cabinet to the trade unions, the church, the extraparliamentary opposition and the mass media—the SDS hastened to accuse him of being against the government, against its policy as a whole and against Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov personally.

In an interview he gave in late August the president criticized the policy of the incumbent government and the way it was implementing the economic reform. Dr. Zhelev said that the cabinet has declared war on all institutions. There were similar assertions in the speech which he prepared but did not read at the political conference of the ruling coalition two weeks ago. Then Dr. Zhelev walked out of the conference after being criticized and was booed by citizens in front of the building in which the forum was held. At a rally organized by the leadership of the SDS in Sofia last week, sympathizers of the coalition demanded the president's resignation. In an interview he gave on the national radio on Sunday [27 September] Dr. Zhelev did not repeat his accusations, and said that we cannot speak of warfare between the cabinet and the institutions, but only of a certain confrontation between them which, as he put it, was an "open secret."

According to the president, the political forces outside the ruling coalition did not avail themselves of his criticism of the government, but of the attitude of the leadership of the SDS to them in order to broaden the scope of their political influence. "After the SDS left open political spaces, it was only natural for others to try to fill them in. However, this is not the fault of these "others," but of the leadership of the SDS itself," Dr. Zhelev stressed in his interview today.

"I have never concealed the fact that I am from the SDS. But if the SDS continues on the road chosen by some of its leaders then no one can help it, including myself," the president said.

According to President Zhelev, his idea for national accord should be viewed as national accord on issues transcending politics and ideology and concerning Bulgaria's present and future: the need of broad support for the democratic reforms in this country, of guaranteeing

national security and civil peace, and of national consensus on the fundamental principles and priorities of Bulgaria's foreign policy. This is no resignation nor accord after a civil war, but the wounds inflicted on society by communist totalitarianism are so deep and insidious that if we do not take care of their healing we may become witnesses of acute social and ethnic conflicts and of economic collapse, the president believes.

Prime Minister Explains Conflict With DPS

AU2809183492 Sofia BTA in English 1716 GMT 28 Sep 92

[Text] Sofia, September 28 (BTA)—The Council of Ministers has requested the Constitutional Court to explicate the state institutions' peacetime prerogatives with respect to the Armed Forces, Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov confirmed today at the opening of the cabinet's regular meeting. He first informed about the request in an interview for Radio Free Europe on Friday [25 September].

According to him, there is no doubt about the constitutionality of the international treaties signed by President Zhelyu Zhelev, but there are some "puzzles" that he hopes will not cause what he described as "sharp disputes".

Last week 64 M.P.'s [members of parliament] of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) circulated a petition, proposing that parliament debate and submit to the Constitutional Court a request to rule on whether under the Constitution the president has the power to sign international treaties and to be peacetime supreme commander in chief of the Army. Later on the M.P.'s withdrew their signatures with the motive that such a dispute could cause a rift in the SDS. President Zhelyu Zhelev said on national radio on Sunday that the Constitution was the basis for the powers in question.

Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov today said that several talks had been held with the representatives of the ethnic Turks' Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS) about their possible participation in the cabinet. The participation of a loyal partner in the cabinet is a matter which should be discussed but it is out of the question to make a change for change's sake, the prime minister said. He added that the sides should specify their stands. The DPS has not done this yet, said Filip Dimitrov, who is also chairman of the SDS Coordinating Council.

Other SDS leaders expressed a similar view yesterday. Ventseslav Dimitrov, one of the leaders of the SDS-affiliated United Democratic Center, said the DPS should be represented in the cabinet as the SDS's parliamentary ally in order to take its share of responsibility for the ongoing radical reforms and for this country's government. Ten days ago the DPS parliamentary group made a motion for the early dismissal of National Assembly Chairman Stefan Savov and threatened to divest the prime minister of political confidence and to move for his resignation. Under the Constitution, this would lead to the cabinet's resignation. After the SDS political conference on September 18-20, a contact group was set up for talks with the DPS.

The two political forces are expected to specify their views on the future composition of the cabinet at serious consultations this week.

Defense Council Calls For Study on Cooperation

LD2809220192 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Slovak 1600 GMT 28 Sep 92

[Text] At its Prague session today [28 September], the Council of State Defense recommended to Vaclav Klaus and Vladimir Meciar, the chairmen of the republic councils, that they appoint plenipotentiaries to tackle tasks related to the development of both national armies. The Council also authorized Czechoslovak Minister of Defense Imrich Andrejcak to draft the relevant agreement-based solution for the cooperation of the national armies. According to the information provided by General Jan Cadek, the Council recalled its original ruling to establish an inter-ministerial commission for the export of military commodities. It also transferred the powers of the commission to the relevant federal and republic bodies.

Klaus Interviewed on State Defense Council Meeting

LD2909081792 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Czech 1700 GMT 28 Sep 92

[Text] The State Defense Council, at its meeting in Prague today, recommended to the chairmen of the republican councils of defense, Vaclav Klaus and Vladimir Meciar, to appoint representatives who would tackle tasks connected with the building of both national armed forces, and instructed Imrich Andrejcak, Minister of Defense, to prepare the relevant contractual solution on cooperation between both national armies and some other necessary measures.

After the meeting the Czech prime minister gave an interview to journalists. The first question put by Stanislav Benda, an editor, asked whether the participants in the discussions achieved results that would suit both sides.

[Begin recording] [Klaus] My reply has to be a bit yes and a bit no. In regard to the question itself concerning the division of the armed forces, simply how to deal with the armed forces in the future, I think that we have reached certain conclusions since it has been shown clearly that it is necessary to distinguish between the end of one army from the end of delimitations [delimitaci], simply from the end when on the territory of one or the other republic something will be located which has not as yet been transferred to the place of its final destination or to the places where it belongs. I believe we have reached basic conclusions in this regard.

We have come to a basic conclusion in regard to the division of a large number of other things—how to deal with military schools, how to deal with officers who are of one nationality but who might be today operating on the other side. We have come to a conclusion. But unfortunately a problem has arisen there which was somewhat dramatized by Mr. Meciar, and thereby we have not reached any conclusions concerning a general division of assets, Federation assets, and this causes me disquiet since it indicates a problem. It indicates that probably Slovak members of the Federal Government, with the well-known parity of five to five, were probably not sufficiently instructed by the Slovak side and they subscribed to the draft resolution of the division of federal assets—which I am not sure will be acceptable to the political leadership in Slovakia. This is for me a very disquieting matter, and I thought that, yes, since the federal government approved it I never envisaged that the matter would be pursued by these five Slovak representatives in the Federal Government without some discussion at home.

[Unidentified journalist] It appears that Mr. Meciar proposes a different division of federal assets. Can you tell me specifically what division he is proposing?

[Klaus] I do not know what he specifically proposes, but certain doubt over the one which has been already proposed has been voiced here today, and it could complicate matters. But this fact alone does not change the basic problem of how to divide between the republics the numbers of aircraft, guns, tanks, troops or officers. Nevertheless, I am a little worried. After a certain speech in Nuremberg [Meciar called for a new Slovak-German treaty], which cast doubt on certain factors in foreign policy coordination in the future, I think that this represents yet another signal for me, which I must take into consideration and which, as it appears, we must discuss at a private meeting with Mr. Meciar.

[Unidentified correspondent] It would not be within the framework of division of the army, if I understand this correctly.

[Klaus] Yes, to a certain extent, I would say, although there are some connections. If a simple territorial principle should be adopted toward the immovable assets then it would be correct to divide the Army as it is proposed in the documents which were submitted here today. It is clear that if doubts should be cast on the general principle of dividing immovable assets then we could start wanting to divide aircraft in a different way, too, for example. In this sense, there was some connection, although, an indirect one.

[Unidentified correspondent] The administrative division of the Army would take place on the same date as the division of the federation.

[Klaus] Certainly. This is the conclusion of today's session of the State Defense Council. There is no question about us creating some kind of a supranational expedition corps which would be ruled by someone and which could do as it liked. In this sense it is quite clear to us that a joint army could not exist a minute longer than a joint federation; no one on either side has voiced any doubt in this respect. However, the second issue is: The need to distinguish clearly between the moment when one army is abolished from the moment of delimitation of every piece of military equipment from one territory to the other. This will take longer.

[Unidentified correspondent] The delimitation, in your opinion, could thus take six months, as envisaged, or longer?

[Klaus] The material is complex; someone has calculated how many hundreds or even thousands of trainloads of this material there are, and the material has to be stored somewhere. The actual physical transportaion of the material could take longer. This would not have to matter at all, however. I can imagine quite vividly that there could be storage premises which would be let, by a contract, to the other republic; thus the material would be kept in that storage.

[Unidentified correspondent] I would like to come back to your meeting with Mr. Meciar: Do you envisage that before the meeting of both republican governments there would be a meeting with Mr. Meciar?

[Klaus] You are the first to ask this question. I have not asked this question myself yet. I will think about it. You have only prompted me. However, I cannot give you an answer.

[Unidentified correspondent] Will you tell us why Mr. Meciar left early?

[Klaus] I think that he had other matters to attend to, but it would be childish, however, to hide the fact that his departure was also an expression of a certain disagreement with the proposed solution. [end recording]

Strasky, Meciar Discuss Defense Council Meeting

LD2909074592 Prague CSTK in English 2147 GMT 28 Sep 92

[Text] Prague Sept 28 (CSTK)—Czechoslovak Premier Jan Strasky today told journalists that the Joint Command (of the Czechoslovak Army) will split at the moment of the split of the state.

Strasky was speaking after a meeting of the Czechoslovak State Defence Council which discussed the future of the Czechoslovak Army as Czechoslovakia is poised for division as of January 1, 1993.

He said that Czechoslovak Defence Minister Imrich Andrejcak submitted four variants of division of the Army. The difference between individual variants concerned mainly the Air Force.

Slovakia has not enough military airports for the military planes which should be relocated to the republic after the division of the Army.

The council adopted the solution under which both republics will have an equal fire force in types of planes, Strasky said.

He told journalists that the chairmen of the Czech and Slovak state defence councils, Vaclav Klaus and Vladimir Meciar, agreed with the technical division of the Army in the 2-1 proportion.

Klaus told journalists that at the meeting today, Meciar challenged the territorial principle of the divison of the Czechoslovak Federation's real estate.

He said that Meciar's walk-out from the meeting more than two hours before it ended does not mean that Meciar slammed the door on the division of property.

But to interpret it only by his lack of time due to other duties would be oversimplifying the whole thing, Klaus said.

He hoped that today's conflict of view is not immediately linked with Tuesday's discussion of the bill on ways of ending the federation in the federal parliament.

Meciar told journalists that in the meeting, he wanted to know what will follow the division of the Army if it really occurs. He also proposed constituting joint defence and conclusion of a no- attack agreement but this was not adopted.

He said that Strasky and Klaus see the territorial principle for the division of the Army in that each republic owns what is located on its territory.

They also rejected financial compensation even if the properties are not in balance, and they even demanded rents to be paid for the joint use of some equipment, Meciar said.

This was too much, he said and added that because the Czech side was not prepared for the talks, he left the meeting.

Andrejcak told journalists that his ministry has prepared a treaty on defence to be concluded by the Czech and Slovak republics which will serve as a basis for signing various agreements between the two republic armies.

I believe no serious discord will arise between the two republics as to prevent the two armies from using various technical equipment which is located in only one of them, he said.

After the split of the Army, soldiers will have several days to move to the republic whose citizenship they will choose. Career soldiers could remain on the territory of the other republic for a thus far undefined period, Andrejcak said.

Meciar: Slovakia Wants 'Good' Ties With Czechs

LD2909011192 Prague CSTK in English 2159 GMT 29 Sep 92

[Text] Prague Sept 28 (CSTK)—Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar told journalists today that Slovakia is interested in a lasting, good and the broadest possible non-federative arrangement of relations with the Czech Republic.

Speaking after a meeting with deputies from three Czech opposition parties—the LB [Left Bloc], the LSU [Liberal

Social Union] and the CSSD [Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party], Meciar said the parties demand a referendum to be held, no matter which of the four variants for ending the Czechoslovak Federation is chosen.

Meciar said the opposition also demands that the adoption of a law on ending Czechoslovakia be preceded by a law on dividing federal property and an agreement on the arrangement of future relations between the Czechs and Slovaks. The fulfilment or non-fulfilment of these conditions will influence the three parties' voting in the federal parliament, he added.

For Slovakia, the most acceptable is an agreement between the two national parliaments, which must be followed by a ratification referendum in which citizens would confirm the agreement. The duty to hold this kind of referendum is embedded in the new Slovak constitution of September 3, Meciar said.

In view of differences in the stands of the Civic Democratic Party (ODS) and the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) on solving the question of state arrangement for Czechoslovakia, the HZDS has proposed that the government coalition parties meet with the opposition on Tuesday to discuss a possible compromise, Meciar said.

He added that if the bill on ending the federation, debate on which starts in the federal parliament on Tuesday, is not passed, the Czech Republic will have to take unilateral steps [sentence as received]. He did not elaborate.

Meciar said that before the federation ends, it should be clear what will follow. Otherwise there is a threat of spontaneous development which would harm both republics, he added.

If some politicians think that they could draw political profit out of short-term advantages gained in property division while justifying their conduct by the consistent assertion of Czech interests, they must count with retaliatory steps on the Slovak part, Meciar warned.

Army Officer Denies Hungarian Airspace Violation

AU2809134592 Prague CSTK in English 1649 GMT 25 Sep 92

[Text] Prague Sep 25 (CSTK)—Major General Ondrej Kubizniak, deputy General Chief of Staff of the Czechoslovak Army, denied today's report by the Slovak daily PRAVDA that there exists a secret directive from the Czechoslovak Army command under which flights by foreign planes over Slovakia's territory are not registered.

There exists no secret directive, Kubizniak told CSTK and added that the emergency system of anti-aircraft defence functions equally effectively above both the Czech and Slovak Republics, and without exceptions.

On the paper's information that Slovakia's airspace was violated September 22 by a Hungarian AN-26 plane which photographed the hydroproject Gabcikovo on the Danube, Kubizniak said that this was a beforehand planned flight by a Hungarian civil plane.

The flight was authorised by the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry on the basis of international agreements and its goal was to take pictures for cartographic research.

Kubizniak said that throughout its duration, the flight was monitored by radars on the Slovak territory. There was no need to activate the antiaircraft defence system because the plane did not fly further than five kilometres from the state border as agreed, Kubizniak stressed.

He said that he has no information about a violation of the Slovak Republic's airspace on September 4 either. On that day, PRAVDA wrote, an unidentified Hungarian warplane violated the Slovak border flying 22 kilometres deep into Slovakia's territory.

Kubizniak said that this year Slovakia's airspace has been violated from neither the Hungarian nor Polish territory.

The biggest number of cases registered by Czechoslovak monitoring stations are unusual situations when sports pilots from Germany and Austria lose orientation in adverse weather conditions, Kubizniak said.

The Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry today confirmed to CSTK that it authorised the cartographic flight by a Hungarian plane September 22.

Colonel Antonin Vanek said it is a common practice that Czechoslovakia authorises such flights to all neighbouring states and all neighbouring states, including Hungary, grant similar requests by Czechoslovakia.

Czechoslovak Defence Minister Imrich Andrejcak told the Slovak News Agency TK SR that the flight of Hungarian plane over Czechoslovak territory September 22 was agreed on with Czechoslovakia beforehand.

He said civil planes can fly five kilometres deep over the Czechoslovak territory. In case of technical problems the parties concerned communicate in an established way.

Had the author of the (PRAVDA) article verified the information, he would have never published this "reliable" news, Andrejcak said.

Carnogursky Outlines Christian Democrats' Strategy

AU2409124292 Bratislava SLOVENSKY DENNIK in Slovak 21 Sep 92 pp 1, 3

[Speech delivered by Christian Democratic Movement Chairman Jan Carnogursky to delegates at the movement's assembly in Poprad on 19 September: "The Creative Force Behind Slovak Policy"]

[Text] Esteemed Assembly, esteemed guests, dear friends! Nitra, Kosice, Zilina, Trnava, and now Poprad are milestones on our movement's road, milestones that point deep within our movement and beyond it, milestones that point toward Slovakia and the world. These

assemblies provide us with an opportunity to take stock of our situation, to reflect on the Slovak political scene, and to discuss how we intend to proceed.

This is the fifth assembly since our movement was founded less than three years ago. This in itself is an indication of how fast the political situation and our movement are developing. For the most part, we can only exercise minimal influence on this process and can in no way halt it. We do not want to halt it, we want to give it a natural organic form, we want to make it more civilized, we want to eradicate human suffering from it, and we want to see a prospering Slovakia at its culmination.

If we cannot directly influence development, we can at least do so indirectly by telling the truth about Slovak policy. Many people are trying to conceal the truth for coalition party-political or other reasons.

The transition from communism to democracy and from a planned economy to a market economy is proving to be difficult everywhere in the world. Moreover, resolving Slovakia's constitutional and legal status is added to this problem in our republic. Dealing with so many issues at once inevitably creates scope for all sorts of idle promises, for demagogy, and for rousing passions. The communists were masters at all of this.

We have to stress that after the June elections, people with authoritarian methods—most of them with a communist past—were installed via various parties in important positions in parliament, in government, and in state administration. It is as if they have forgotten nothing or learned anything. We are witnessing how they are gradually assuming control over the mass media and the economy to say nothing of the instruments of power. To do this, they are using methods familiar to us from the normalization period of the 1970's. Slovakia is again threatened with totalitarian rule.

Prior to November 1989, Christians were the dominating social force in opposition to communism. Today, it seems there is no other social force in Slovakia strong enough to effectively oppose the return of dictatorship. We are also succeeding in opposing it now.

In comparison to 20 years ago, current attempts to install an authoritarian regime are being made under nationalist slogans. We are entitled to air our views on this situation, because we advocated national ideals—and not national slogans—at a time when certain current Movement For a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] functionaries condemned our people for it. If the state oppresses its citizens under the pretext of protecting national interests, then it will produce oppressed citizens. However, where is the guarantee that in 20, 30, or 40 years time this same state will not oppress its citizens for completely different reasons, for example, for adopting anti-Slovak or anti-national points of view. Have we not already experienced this in our history? Today's oppressed citizen will be an oppressed citizen even then, and again only a minority capable of standing up to nationalist pressure and of protecting Slovakia's national interests will be left. Therefore, when we stand up for human rights, we also stand up for Slovakia's national interests and support the process of Slovakia's real emancipation.

Yes, we—our people—began to implement a national program for Slovakia long before anyone else. Youth groups, which we regard as our own, sang songs such as "Kto za pravdu hori" [a patriotic Slovak song] at pilgrimages held throughout the 1980's. Articles on Slovakia's real history and articles outlining a Slovak national program were published in samizdat magazines such as NABOZENSTVO A SOUCASNOST [Religion and Today], BRATISLAVSKE LISTY [Bratislava Papers], and others. We organized mass visits to activists awaiting trial. By the way, our activities created a true and positive image of Slovakia abroad. Slovakia had no problems with negative propaganda at that time. After the fall of communism, we incorporated into the Federal Government program of June 1990 an undertaking to lead our two republics into the community of European nations as equal entities. We came up with the idea of a treaty between the two republics and we came up with the proposal to transform Czechoslovakia following the example of the European Community. We wanted the establishment of Slovakia's statehood to culminate somewhere around the year 2000 along with its incorporation into the European Community. Slovakia, as well as the Czech Republic, would have had a decade to achieve internal and external stability, to implement its new mutual relations within the framework of European integration, and to prepare properly for European competition. The process of the republics' emancipation would take place peacefully and organically and the ordinary citizen—if he did not read about the new constitutional and legal development in the newspapers—would not even be aware it was happening.

Development is proceeding differently. The victorious political parties—the HZDS and the Civic Democratic Party—have agreed to divide the Republic on 1 January 1993. They are taking all the political and legal steps necessary to ensure the division really takes place. Various agreements between the Czech and Slovak Republics should make the division easier, but none has yet been concluded. There will be no defense union and no temporary monetary union, and—during the course of next year—customs offices will probably be erected on both sides of the Moravian border. According to Defense Minister Andrejcak, at least five calm years are necessary for dividing the Army. However, the Army will probably also be divided at the beginning of next year. Of course, this will result in a radical reduction in Slovakia's defense capability. If we take the present volume of industrial output in Slovakia as an example, the domestic market for Slovak enterprises will shrink to 28 percent of its current size due to the state's division. We consider the Republic's division to be premature for these and other reasons.

We are not participating in the establishment of the new Slovak Republic, because its establishment has not been

directly approved by the people. As a Christian movement, we cannot support parties that incite hatred between peoples. We have not drawn up a scenario for overcoming the economic problems associated with Slovakia's independence as if we were responsible or partly responsible for it. Finally, a political regime we do not trust is manifesting itself in the independent Slovakia.

We consider Slovakia's independence to be premature, but we affirm in advance that—if it happens—we will consider it to be permanent, regardless of the difficulties the independent Slovakia will encounter. Slovakia cannot achieve independence twice in one century and twice return to a common republic. A second return could only be unconditional. Slovakia would be unable to make any demands of its own; it would have to accept the conditions bestowed upon it. Perhaps we are mediocre Slovak nationalists, but we are Slovak patriots. Therefore, we will support the new Slovak Republic to the best of our ability. However, in the new Slovak Republic we will differentiate between Slovak statehood and the regime governing the republic. We will support Slovak statehood, but, if necessary, we will sharply criticize the political regime. We will take special care to ensure that civil and democratic rights are observed in Slovakia. We will pillory each violation of these rights in the Slovak National Council [SNR], in public, and abroad. We will not allow ourselves to succumb to demagogic pressure alleging that uncovering civil rights violations and criticism of the Slovak regime damages the republic's image abroad. Slovakia's image abroad is damaged most of all by manifestations of political, national, racial, or other maliciousness.

In view of post-election development in Slovakia—which I referred to in my introduction—we are worried about the state of democracy in Slovakia. It is impossible to establish democracy in Slovakia if the deputy chairman of the Movement For a Democratic Slovakia pays lip service to those demanding the withdrawal of an opposition deputy's mandate or if the chairman of this movement consigns an opposition party to the past. Minority rights will be an important element for the stability or lack of stability of the future Slovak Republic. The Hungarian parties in the SNR will have to assess the method for implementing these rights. The manner in which Prime Minister Meciar spoke out against Hungarian deputies during the debate on the Constitution represents a threat to the new Slovakia's domestic calm. Politically motivated aggression is beginning to manifest itself on the streets of our cities. If there are victims of this aggression in a few months time, the HZDS—and especially its chairman—will bear the responsibility. In no way will we have anything to do with this process.

Just look at the difference in the attitude displayed recently by people demonstrating in Bratislava in support of the Church school in Bardejov! They were rightly protesting against the decision made by the education minister and the deputy prime minister, but they demonstrated in a peaceful, civilized, and respectable manner. They did not hurl abuse at anyone and they did not threaten anyone. At the same time, they demonstrated their civic courage in publicly pressing for a normal education for their children.

Economic policy will, to a great extent, determine the Slovak Republic's future. The new government has been in power for less than three months and it is already apparent that it will not be able to conduct the economic policy outlined by the HZDS in its election program. Its first steps indicate that it will not be able to deliver what it has promised. On the contrary, it has decided to increase postal charges, it is preparing to increase transportation charges, and it is finding out that savoir-faire in the form of an expansive development policy must yield to the endeavor for a balanced budget. Whether the internal convertibility of the Slovak koruna is maintained or not will provide an important signal about the direction of economic policy. According to the current economic indicators, it would be impossible to maintain internal convertibility. In view of our demand for imports, our export capability, and the value of our currency, three measures come into consideration:

—increasing exports;
—restricting imports;
—or devaluing the Slovak currency.

It is hard to envisage that we will increase our exports, although we will also regard exports to the Czech Republic as exports. Restricting imports will probably be unavoidable, at least to a certain extent, but—at the same time—it will mean a repeat of our isolation from the advanced world. Devaluing the Slovak currency may lead to a balance between the supply of and demand for freely convertible currencies, but—at the same time—this will mean increasing prices for imported inputs and lead to inflation. One thing is certain, Slovakia will be dependent on foreign cooperation, but economic cooperation can only be taken into consideration if it respects the economic rules set by Western economic and financial institutions. These rules will clearly demand a balanced state budget, a curb on inflation, liberalization of prices and trade, and rigorous privatization. The visit to Washington by a delegation headed by Professor Koctuch has merely underlined this. However, it is surprising that the delegation had to go all the way to Washington to acquire such elementary knowledge.

The fact that the Slovak Government, on the one hand, initiated the Republic's division on 1 January 1993 and, on the other hand, is not taking sufficient operative measures to economically safeguard this division—for example, preparing our own currency so that it is ready by the beginning of the year if the Czech side decides in favor of separate currencies—arouses alarm more than surprise.

The Slovak Government should now turn to the people and tell them openly that the state's division will mean making an economic sacrifice and should ask them if they are prepared to make such a sacrifice. When we say

we will support the new Slovak Republic, we will support it—first and foremost—in its economic policy as long as this economic policy leads to stability.

Esteemed Assembly,

Until now, our assemblies have not only provided us with an opportunity to assess our movement's progress, but have also provided us with moments of heightened expectation about what the future holds for us. So far, these expectations have not been fulfilled. Of course, we have to ask ourselves where we went wrong and how we intend to eradicate these mistakes in the future.

You have received the report compiled by the special commission set up to analyze the reasons for our election failure. I think the report's analysis is correct. For more than 40 years, Christians were the most discriminated against citizens in Slovakia. Our people—apart from a few exceptions—had no opportunity to gain experience in leading posts, in appearing on the mass media, and so on. We started to overcome the consequences of discrimination in November 1989. We have never competed—and we will not compete in the future—with other parties and movements in demonstrating irresponsibility toward Slovakia. An example of the other parties' irresponsibility toward Slovakia is the fact that they voted in the SNR in favor of the Declaration of Slovak Sovereignty, but now—after the Declaration's adoption—they realize they are incapable of forming the state's most important symbol of sovereignty, the Army, in such a short period and, therefore, are hindering the division of the joint army. Our movement has always oscillated between justice and forgiveness in its attitude toward the communist era. We have not pressed for the radical replacement of people in enterprises and institutions, but our people are now being thrown out of their work. This does not only apply to the communist era. Last year, when certain Czech parties in the Federal Assembly attempted to transfer the HZDS chairman from one committee to another, our deputies voted against this. However, since the elections, the HZDS has moved us willy-nilly from one SNR committee to another. Last year, Engineer Polacko, the leader of the District Office in Presov who campaigned for us, protested against the dismissal of a HZDS functionary from state administration, but this same HZDS functionary has now initiated a motion to dismiss Engineer Polacko from his post. We make allowances for people in this topsy- turvy post-communist world and we do not want to create any more confusion in it. However, there is another reason for this—we lack the desire for power. In my opinion, this is the most striking reason for our electoral failures. Nevertheless, we have already had government experience and Slovakia will now have an opportunity to make a comparison and see for itself that this was a professional government. Our experts have become well known, and more young people are rising up through our movement's ranks. Our mayors and members of community and municipal representative offices are learning how to administer towns and villages. However, our experience to date teaches us that expertise itself is not enough. Justice must also prevail in society. Implementing it will form an equal element of our program along with grooming specialists.

Before we begin to fulfill our new tasks, we must seek an organizational and cadre balance among the tasks we have set ourselves until now. Our movement's new statutes have also been submitted to the assembly for approval. If the new statutes are approved, the term of office for all posts will come to an end and will be refilled. However, regardless of the new statutes, this assembly and the entire movement must decide completely freely on the movement's responsibility and orientation until now and from now on. This decision must also be made freely with regard to individual personalities. Therefore, I and the Presidium members gladly place our posts at the disposal of the assembly for you to make a new decision.

The new statutes—a copy of which you received in advance—propel our movement toward becoming a political party as far as its internal structure is concerned. The statutes separate the apparatus from the elected functionaries and increase individual functionaries' responsibility. Within the framework of a discussion held prior to the assembly, you were given an opportunity to consider changing our movement's name. At district assemblies, most of you were in favor of maintaining our current name. This proves that most of the members are faithful to the movement and that the movement itself has won the respect of Slovakia's citizens under its current name.

A difficult period lies ahead for Slovakia. Its lowest point will separate the empty speeches from a real program. If we want to implement our realistic program for Slovakia, we have to find a new dynamism. We have to be sure of ourselves, we have to have leading cadres with authority, and we have to have a broad network of clubs. We can have all of this. We are the only diligent opposition parliamentary party in Slovakia and in this position we provide hope for many of Slovakia's citizens. Resisting pressure from an authoritarian power is a sign of the movement's strength as well as of Slovakia's ability to protect its democratic conditions. We will manage to do this. This requires loyalty from our members and an awareness of the purpose of such loyalty. Its purpose is to protect Slovakia. Its purpose is to reveal new possibilities for Slovakia.

The American writer Thornton Wilder once wrote that the most interesting thing of all is to monitor the development of a creative force. The Christian Democratic Movement is the creative force behind Slovak policy.

Slovakia Reduces Number of Ministries to 13

AU2809142192 Prague CSTK in English 1514 GMT 24 Sep 92

[Text] Bratislava Sept 24 (CST)—Under an amended law on the organization of Slovak ministries and other

central bodies of state administration, adopted by the Slovak Parliament August 25, the 17 ministries have been reduced to the following 13:

The Ministry of Economics, the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Labor Social Affairs and the Family, the Ministry of the Environment, the Ministry for the Administration and Privatization of National Property, the Ministry of Transport Telecommunications and Public Works, the Ministry of Land Management, the Ministry of Education and Science, the Ministry of Culture, the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of the Interior, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the Ministry of Justice.

Abolished were the Ministries Agriculture and Food, Construction, Forest and Water Management, Industry, and Trade and Tourism.

The four central bodies of state administration will be called the Office of the Slovak Government, the Slovak Office of Geodesy, Cartography and Land Registration, the Slovak Statistics Office and the Slovak Anti-Monopoly Office.

Czech Assembly Adopts Bill on Ministries

LD2409195892 Prague CSTK in English 1606 GMT 23 Sep 92

[Text] Prague Sept. 23 (CSTK)—The Czech Parliament today adopted a bill on measures to reorganize the make-up of central state organs in the Czech Republic according to which several ministries will be abolished, including the Ministry of Trade.

The Ministry of Trade will be abolished and its functions divided between two new economics ministries—the Ministry of Economics and the Ministry of Industry and Trade. The two new ministries will take-up the duties of the Ministry of Economic Policy and the Ministry of Industry.

An office for Legislation and Public Administration of the Czech Republic will also be established. Deputies further adopted a resolution recommending that the government draft legislation within a month on the setting-up of Czech Defence and Transport Ministries.

Moravcik: Successor States Will Seek Council Seat

AU2809135392 Prague CSTK in English 0738 GMT 25 Sep 92

[Text] New York Sep 25 (CSTK correspondent)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jozef Moravcik confirmed here Thursday [24 September] that even after the Czechoslovak state divides in January of next year, the Czech and Slovak Republics will attempt to obtain a spot on the United Nations' Security Council.

The seat that Czechoslovakia has an eye on will be free from 1994, said Moravcik in an interview with CSTK.

At the moment, he added, the East European states represented in the UN are consulting among themselves about Czechoslovakia's candidacy. Belarus is just one of the other countries from this region also interested in the spot, Moravcik noted.

Under the UN Charter, five of the Security Council's seats are permanent and ten are elected for two-year terms.

Moravcik, who arrived here Sunday [20 September], continues talks today with his counterparts from Ukraine and Belarus on wrapping up bilateral treaties with Czechoslovakia and agreeing dates for Czechoslovak visits by the Ukrainian and Belarussian presidents.

All sides agreed to continue preparations, despite that neither the visits nor the treaties will be settled before the division of Czechoslovakia scheduled for January 1, 1993.

Moravcik characterised his meeting Wednesday [23 September] evening with German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel as useful. He noted that Kinkel showed regret for the division of Czechoslovakia, but also understanding and support for what is happening and the manner in which it is proceeding.

Kinkel, according to Moravcik, reaffirmed Germany's backing for both the soon-to-be states, Slovak and Czech, in their efforts to join the European Community.

The German position provides the prerequisite for the (division of Czechoslovakia) to take place without affecting the stability of Central Europe, Moravcik stressed.

Both Germany and Czechoslovakia continue to consider the February 1992 Czechoslovak-German friendship treaty to be valid for all parties concerned after January 1, he added.

Czechoslovakia's problems arose not with the fall of the communist regime in late 1989, but with the establishment of the state in 1918, which suppressed Slovakia's right to self-determination, Moravcik said Thursday in a speech before the Council on Foreign Relations in New York.

He described the current process in Czechoslovakia as an example of the search for the optimal relationship between nation and state now occurring throughout all of Europe.

The question of whether every nation or people has the right to its own state, or whether it is a wholly different category that has nothing to do with the concept of state, cannot be given a simple, definitive response, Moravcik told the Council.

Assembly Discusses Report on Mid-Year Budgets

AU2809135192 Prague CSTK in English 1555 GMT 25 Sep 92

[Excerpt] Prague Sep 25 (CSTK)—The 4th session of the two houses of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly (parliament) today took note of a government report on the fulfillment of the federal budget and the aggregate result of the federal, Czech and Slovak budgets in the first half of the year.

The report, submitted by Czechoslovak First Deputy Premier Rudolf Filkus (HZDS—Movement For a Democratic Slovakia), said that the three budgets had a surplus of 4,000 million crowns (some 13 million USD). However, pressure for higher spendings in the last months of the year and lower than expected revenues from the turnover tax indicate a trend towards a deficit in the three 1992 budgets.

That is why the government sees the budget fulfillment very soberly and recommended measures to be taken to minimise a possible deficit.

The government believes it is necessary to closely coordinate the course of action by all the three Finance Ministries, to regulate spendings in the fourth quarter of 1992, to compensate unplanned spendings with savings in other spheres, and to try to decrease the losses caused by lower revenues from the turnover tax by measures to prevent tax evasion, the report said.

On the other hand, Filkus said, the Czechoslovak economy was quite balanced in the macroeconomic sphere: Inflation was fully controlled, the crown's exchange rate was stabilised, and supply and demand were in equilibrium on the home market.

The foreign debt is growing only slowly and it now stands at 9,800 million dollars, Filkus said.

He stressed that the bottom of economic decline has already been overcome and there is a trend towards revival especially in the building industry which was heavily affected by the economic decline.

The revival is due to the private sector, which now employs about one million people and ensures almost one half of the retail-trade turnover and an influx of direct foreign investment, Filkus said.

He also said that the overall social situation has been improving because unemployment has decreased and real incomes have started to go up again. However, the situation in individual groups of the population is differentiated and incomes and property begin to be polarised.

Deputies recommended to the Federal Fund of National Property to quickly earmark 1,550 million crowns (about 52 million USd) for writing off debts of Slovak enterprises and for increasing banks' capital reserves.

The deputies also asked the government to inform them in detail about the use of the 3,300 million crowns (about 110 million USD) earmarked for the needs of ethnic minorities and for the development of certain regions.

Filkus told the parliament that if the common state of Czechs and Slovaks is not split as of January 1, 1993, a provisional federal budget will be prepared for next year. [passage omitted]

Slovak Intentions To Divert Danube Criticized

AU2809161292 Budapest MTI in English 1628 GMT 25 Sep 92

[Text] Nuremberg, 25 September (MTI)—Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall delivered a speech on behalf of countries situated along the Danube at the festive opening of the Rhine-Main-Danube Channel in Nuremberg on Friday [25 September].

Antall was the only foreign speaker at the opening ceremony of the 171 kilometer channel.

The prime minister, accompanied by the Minister for Transport, Telecommunication and Water Affairs, Csaba Siklos, arrived in Nuremberg on Thursday evening. On Friday morning, he had breakfast with Bavarian Prime Minister Max Streibl.

In his speech, Antall said Hungary considered it a new source of tensions that Slovakia aimed to alter the shipping route of the Danube and to unilaterally divert the Danube, which was declared a border-river in the 1947 Peace Treaty.

This fell outside even the 1977 Hungaro-Czechoslovak agreement on the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros barrage, the prime minister said.

The prominence of Hungaro-Czechoslovak and Hungaro-Slovak problems in the prime minister's speech was different from the more ceremonious tone of speeches made at the opening, but he said not raising the issue would have been "hypocritical conduct."

Speaking to Slovak journalists, Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar, who was also present at the ceremony in Nuremberg, said he was "disappointed" in the Antall speech. He believed raising the problem at this forum was "in poor taste." Meciar declined to speak to Hungarian journalists.

Prime Minister Antall told Hungarian journalists that Prague had replied to an earlier Hungarian letter. The reply reiterated the well-known Czechoslovak position, whereby Czechoslovakia did not acknowledge the cancellation of the 1977 contract, nor that the partial or full divertion of the Danube implied a border violation.

On the request that the International Court of Justice decide between the two sides, Czechoslovakia said this would be a lengthy process and believed the European Community's environmental examinations should be given prominence.

Prime Minister Antall reacted in a positive manner to an offer made by Bavarian Prime Minister Streibl, that he would mediate in the debate between Prague, Bratislava, and Budapest.

"Hungary naturally accepts all efforts for mediation and clarification," Antall said.

In his speech, Antall also warned that the fragile political systems in Central and Eastern Europe were struggling for survival and for transformation amidst serious economic and social circumstances.

"Civil war rages around us and unverifiable armies and politicians bogged down in the past, making use of social tensions, indicate a source of danger in this region. All this can threaten the Western part of Europe and the free world, especially with the appearance of a revival of totalitarianism. Therefore, now more than ever before, there is a need to break down the extremes, to intensify European integration and trans-Atlantic solidarity," Prime Minister Antall said.

European Affairs Committee Step to EC Membership

AU2809190292 Budapest MTI in English 1435 GMT 24 Sep 92

[Text] Budapest, 24 September (MTI)—During the founding session of the Hungarian parliamentary committee of European Committee Affairs in Budapest on Thursday [24 September], European Commission Ambassador Hans Beck said the formation of the committee was a major step to Hungary's EC membership.

The committee, which at the same time represents Hungary in the association joint committee with the European Parliament, has the duty to bring Hungarian laws in line with European legislation, adopt European legal regulations, and supervise implementation of the Association Agreement due to come into force on January 1, 1993, Committee Chairman Richard Horcsik said.

Deputy Foreign Ministry Secretary Tibor Peisch hoped that the Association Agreement would be approved by the EC countries' parliaments this autumn, and could thus take effect on January 1.

Endre Juhasz, head of the EC Affairs Office of the International Economic Relations Ministry, announced that, in view of a possible delay in ratification, steps would probably be taken to extend the temporary trade agreement. However, the document, currently subject to inter-departmental coordination, would have to be approved by the Hungarian parliament by November 30. The 21 percent increase in Hungarian exports to the Common Market was partly due to the agreement, Juhasz said.

Christian Democrats Seen as Party of Center

AU2909115692 Budapest PESTI HIRLAP in Hungarian 23 Sep 92 p 4

[Interview with Tibor Ghiczy, secretary of the National Executive Board of the Christian Democratic People's Party, KDNP, by Karoly Banhidi; place and date not given: "KDNP—Politics, Service, Commitment—Sober and Middle-of-the-Road Hungarians"]

[Excerpts] The Christian Democratic People's Party [KDNP] has expressed a number of times its intention to become the internal opposition in the coalition. As for the next elections, it has expressed its intention to become a strong center party. We interviewed Tibor Ghiczy on these issues.

[Banhidi] The first program of the KDNP that was announced at its first congress remained on the level of generalities and is veiled in obscurity. What are your views on this?

[Ghiczy] The KDNP's first congress accepted a very serious and concrete program that embraces all areas of politics and the economy on the basis of Christian social theory. These theses are considerably different from the politics of the Hungarian Democratic Forum. [passage omitted] I also maintain that, through this congress, the KDNP progressed to the level of the Western Christian democratic parties. Our recent consultation in Szombathely [western Hungary] was a direct continuation of this strategy, where the need arose to establish and enforce our own program. This kind of radicalization that was also expressed in the Szombathely statement can only help develop the party. The resolutions confirm that the KDNP wishes to become an integrating center party. [passage omitted]

[Banhidi] In your view, is it possible to become the internal opposition as you recently announced?

[Ghiczy] The whole of Eastern Europe is in turmoil. To the outside, Hungary is the only stable country, and national and governmental responsibility has to be accepted in the interest of maintaining this. Our voters and supporters would be right to object if we emphasized selfish party interests as opposed to the interest of the nation. In my view, in the current atmosphere no one could offer another responsible alternative. The issue of "internal opposition" is connected to this. A constructive and critical voice is needed in an embittered situation that will openly define what to improve and what to discard but, at the same time, supports the measures taken in the interest of the nation. This is a very difficult and narrow path, but this is what history bestowed on us and we would like to come up to it.

[Banhidi] Chairman Laszlo Surjan talked about the harmony and unity of the party. Does this unity really exist or can you notice a certain division, the establishment of trends that will be determining in the future?

[Ghiczy] The Executive Board's decision stated a need for open internal debate that, rather than weakening, strengthens the party. Only the dictatorial parties have—only seemingly—united views. The chairman was perfectly right to talk about the unity of the party. Despite the possible debates and differences of views, we are strongly bonded by the common Christian ideals. Hungary will never have more Christian democratic parties. I believe that this is also part of being in the center and being sober-minded. [passage omitted]

Walesa Receives Lithuanian Prime Minister

LD2809221692 Warsaw PAP in English 1833 GMT 28 Sep 92

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 28—Poland and Lithuania must learn to cooperate with each other, if they are not to waste the opportunities which lie before them, President Lech Walesa said on Monday [28 September], at a meeting at the president's official Belweder residence with Lithuanian Prime Minister Aleksandras Abisala.

In a reference to the frequently strained relations between the two countries, President Walesa said: "If we spend too much time looking to the past, we could lose the future." He said that the two sides not only can, but also must work together, adding that he hoped that Monday's discussions between Polish and Lithuanian leaders had cleared the air, and would create "an unrepeatable chance for new relations between our states."

Earlier, Abisala met with Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski, to discuss the problems of cross-border traffic and security in the Baltic region.

After the meeting, Abisala said that it was in Lithuania's interests for a Polish-Lithuanian treaty to be signed as soon as possible.

Visit Seen as 'Step Forward'

LD2809222192 Warsaw PAP in English 2037 GMT 28 Sep 92

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 28—It is too early to evaluate the results of the visit, although if it is not a turning-point, it is "a step forward," said Lithuanian Prime Minister Aleksandras Abisala at a press conference on Monday [28 September] at the end of his one-day visit to Poland. He noted also that his visit had a symbolic importance as the first meeting between the prime ministers of the two countries.

Abisala believed that his visit marked an acceleration in the tempo of work on a Polish-Lithuanian bilateral treaty, adding that compromise on the contentious issues would profit both sides.

Asked to comment on the problems faced by the Polish minority in Lithuania, Abisala evaluated his government's policy as "conforming to European standards," even though the Poles believed their position was not very good. He also called on the Polish Government to take steps to strengthen the rights of Lithuanians in Poland.

Abisala added that Lithuania's Polish minority had nothing to fear from the proposed alterations to internal administrative boundaries, and there was no reason to fear a threat to their national identity.

The Lithuanian prime minister dismissed as incorrect the widely-held view that Polish-Lithuanian relations are bad. However, he added that "the non-clarification of mutual relations, a lack of the will to understand true interests, and an insufficient knowledge of the internal situation (of each country)" has a bad impact on those relations.

Agreements Signed

LD2809131492 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1200 GMT 28 Sep 92

[Text] A Lithuanian Government delegation, led by the Prime Minister Aleksandras Abisala, is paying a one-day visit to Poland.

This morning the Lithuanian guests were welcomed at the airport by Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka.

The Lithuanian delegation placed wreaths on the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier and then went on to meet representatives of the Lithuanian Social and Cultural Association in Poland.

A meeting between the prime ministers of Lithuania and Poland began in the office of the Council of Ministers soon after.

The first meeting of the Polish and Lithuanian prime ministers, Hanna Suchocka and Aleksandras Abisala, ended with the signing of three agreements: on the mutual protection of investment projects, on border service cooperation in the transfer of people and goods, and on collaboration between the Interior Ministries of both countries in combating crime.

The Polish prime minister said that during her talks with our Lithuanian guest most of the time was devoted to problems of ethnic minorities. It was decided that both countries will cooperate in the area of protecting cultural heritage. The prime minister also announced the sending of an economic mission to Lithuania and the opening of a second border crossing between Poland and Lithuania.

Both sides are showing signs a willingness to sign an agreement on air transport. This will take place when the Lithuanian side is ready for it.

Skubiszewski Calls for Action

LD2809220892 Warsaw PAP in English 1438 GMT 28 Sep 92

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 28—We should stop talking, and begin to make great efforts, Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski said on Monday [28 september], following a meeting in Warsaw with his Lithuanian opposite number, Algirdas Saudargas.

Skubiszewski said that Polish work on a Polish-Lithuanian treaty was well-advanced, and would be presented to the Lithuanian Government for consideration in the near future.

Skubiszewski also stressed that Poland wished to enable Lithuania to find a place for herself in the international arena. He added that Poland needed a strong Lithuania, since this would be "an important element in our security."

Asked why an air transport agreement had not yet been signed by the two countries, Skubiszewski said that there had thus far been a lack of coordination between the two foreign ministries.

According to Lithuanian Prime Minister Aleksandras Abisala, in Warsaw on Monday for a 1-day visit, an air transport agreement could not be expected until the relevant Lithuanian ministries had completed their process of coordination on this matter.

National Minorities Discussed

LD2809221192 Warsaw PAP in English 1509 GMT 28 Sep 92

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 28—The resolution of the question of national minorities in Poland and Lithuania would mark a victory over a cold period in Polish-Lithuanian relations, Lithuanian Prime Minister Aleksandras Abisala is reported as saying on Monday [28 September], at a meeting with Speaker of the Sejm Wieslaw Chrzanowski and Deputy Speaker of the Senate Alicja Grzeskowiak.

Grzeskowiak voiced her unease at the legal status of the Polish minority in Lithuania, which in her opinion did not meet European standards. She added that in their discussions with Abisala on proposed new internal Lithuanian administrative boundaries and on the reprivatisation of assets sequestered by the communists, he had assured them that Poles would not be disadvantaged in acquiring land.

Grzeskowiak also reported that Abisala had said that the first steps in establishing a faculty of Polish culture and language at Vilnius University would be taken next year, with the establishment of a Department of Polish Studies.

Walesa on His 'Concept for Poland's Cure'

PM2509132392 Wroclaw SLOWO POLSKIE in Polish 18 Sep 92 pp 1, 3

[Interview with President Lech Walesa by SLOWO POLSKIE 'editorial team'; place and date not given]

[Text] [SLOWO POLSKIE] People have a way of forgetting quickly about others' successes and concentrating in their opinions on the mistakes that the latter may have made. This is why many see Poland today as a country of economic frauds and rackets (such as the Art-B and the Telegraf ventures, or the FOZZ [Foreign Debt Service Fund] scandal), where Security Service or foreign intelligence agents allegedly penetrate the Polish National Bank secrets, where the privatization campaign proceeds sluggishly, surrounded by a shady atmosphere and allegations of corrupt deals... Mr. President, are you sure that you are in control of what is going on? As head of state, are you assuming responsibility for the present times?

[Walesa] People forget: Yes, it is true. Mistakes are being made and it is a good thing that people are watching them closely. But watching the mistakes being made is not enough.

Poland is undergoing a change and a price must be paid for it, so that life can become normal. On the one hand, too little attention was paid to pointing out the problems and the directions that needed to be taken; on the other hand, too few people were willing to bake the new bread. Now they are saying that the bread is not as it should be, that the flour was of poor quality, that the bakers were ill-trained, and, as if that was not bad enough, that the bakers are a corrupt and thieving lot. There has been too little honest talk about what it was that pushed us in this direction, about why things are so difficult, and about why mistakes are being made.

I told some people: Things cannot go on this way any longer!... To others, I said, and I keep saying: Democracy and a free market are not miraculous cures. In diseases as complicated and advanced as ours, a cure will only succeed if the patient himself has the will to recover. He will choose the physician, he will fight the disease, and only then can he regain his health. And he must preserve his health carefully. I know how easy it is to accuse people of wrongdoing; I know how difficult it is to tell people the truth to their face; If you keep crying: "Gimme, gimme gimme," and "Get things done," if you keep moaning and whining, or just waiting while you dream about your country's might, we will not get anywhere at all.

As head of state, I take responsibility for Poland. I take it, but I have the right to demand such responsibility from everyone. The president must have the answers; he must see the problems and find the solutions. I am trying to do as much as I can, and even more than I can. And I know that without solidarity with Poland, without everyone's participation in that great repair effort, my own efforts and my work will be wasted. Am I in control of it all? We are solving our problems—albeit slowly, and with much difficulty, and sometimes in conditions of poor visibility. And although we frequently encounter storms on our way—even storms of anarchy—nevertheless our Polish ship is still keeping to its mapped course. And it is navigable.

[SLOWO POLSKIE] Former Prime Minister Jan Olszewski states in his book that the "Macierewicz list" [of state officials allegedly associated in the past with the previous regime's security service] contained names of people who are now members of the President's Chancellery. Is it true? If so, do you know who they are, and are they still employed by your chancellery?

[Walesa] There was one commission looking into this matter, then there was another. Various things have been said. There is no question of allowing mob law to prevail and pass the sentence here, for we have left the law of the jungle behind. No one may stand above the law, and no one can be sentenced outside the law.

I did not approve of the manner in which Minister Macierewicz implemented the Sejm act. The conclusions I drew after reading the document in question are well known to the public, as is my appraisal of the events. Furthermore, the result of the work of the special Sejm commission is also a matter of public knowledge. That commission had access to all persons involved as well as to all relevant documents. This is not to say that the "anticommunist scrutiny" procedures should not be carried out. Indeed, they should, but at the same time all the civilized legal requirements must be observed. Only then can we take a stand on the "information" that has been and still is generously provided by politicians from the previous government team. It is not until then that the entire top echelon of my chancellery will submit themselves to parliamentary procedures—along with everyone else who may be involved, and according to regulations set down by parliament. The vetting campaign cannot play the role of a substitute battleground where the fate of our future is being fought over.

[SLOWO POLSKIE] Are you familiar with the report of the so-called Michnik Commission that had access to the Internal Affairs Ministry's [MSW] archives in the summer of 1990? Who was responsible for the decision to make the contents of the archives available to an informal group of research historians, and who decided about the group's composition? Who, apart from Adam Michnik, were members of that group?

[Walesa] I had no knowledge of this matter at all. I am not familiar with the commission's report. At the time, I was chairman of the Solidarity Trade Union. True, there was some talk about alleged burning of MSW files, about deliberate destruction of various party documents that were of crucial significance for the state and for historical research. Those were different times. Adam Michnik was a Sejm deputy and in this capacity he was able to gain access to MSW archives. I have no idea at all how the search was carried out, nor what its results were. I was not informed by anyone.

[SLOWO POLSKIE] You are famous for your short, blunt, and often staggeringly apt sayings. But this time we will ask you to describe your "concept for Poland's cure" to us at greater length. A concept that could be introduced very quickly, perhaps even tomorrow. This is the summer of 1992. Many Poles feel that the established authority of such institutions as the church, Solidarity, "our own" government, and parliament has collapsed hopelessly. Strike action continues in many places, while individual people decide to take the ultimate desperate step to escape a situation from which they can see no way out. New hope is now just as necessary to people as more bread. What can you hold out to hungry people?

[Walesa] Society is not active enough, nor is it organized. It is prepared to ask and demand, not to accept suggestions on how to protect people's interests other than through strikes. In Poland there are many different types of hunger. The unemployed are hungry for work, the economy is hungry for capital and good organization, the military are hungry for new airplanes, firemen are hungry for new fire engines. The budget is threadbare, there are more and more disclosures exposing corruption and economic rackets.

We will not generate new hope through promises, through utopian visions of an earthly paradise. We have learned this lesson over many long decades. A genuine hope can only be born from wise action, from well organized and honest work. Poland is a country that has everything it needs to be wealthy. In 1980 Solidarity had a membership of 10 million. These people are not together any more. This is not to say that the idea of solidarity or the idea behind the trade unions has become devalued. Today the world has become much more complex. There is no longer only one correct idea, or only one enemy. Today we know more, and what we know is hard knowledge. We must learn it by heart. If we fail to learn it, things will go from bad to worse. In a democratic country different sets of interests clash with one another. A whole variety of parties and unions is set up to represent these interests. In this way a whole new system is created. If this new system fails to cope with the challenges, if it falters under the weight of the burdens that have fallen on its shoulders, it will have to be assisted. But this should be done avoiding chaos and anarchy, avoiding all violence... We owe it to the democratic system that no one can say any longer: "This problem is not my concern. This is a matter for other people. They should tackle it." Unless society wakes up from its lethargic trance and becomes galvanized, unless it organizes itself, the system will have to answer the questions, think for its citizens, and impose its own prescribed treatment to effect a cure. Such a solution is what logic dictates, but if it is imposed, it will no longer be a democratic system. In any normal country, low public participation—whether active or passive—in the election process denotes a general acceptance of the status quo. We could now say that we have had more than enough of the democratic system and want something else instead, but this would be taking a step backward. I am responsible for the system, and I am dissatisfied, too. Only I may not go on strike: I must respect the democratic system and the constitution. I may not condone many laws or regulations, but until we have replaced them with new and better ones, I must respect the ones we have now, and I must also work to correct them.

If the present interim system fails to function, I will ask our people for cooperation and solidarity—as a society, we will have to get ourselves organized anew around things that are essential for society and for the state. I will again ask our people to show solidarity with the unemployed, to show solidarity in fighting economic rackets and corruption, and to show solidarity in reforming the law and preserving law and order in our country. I will ask for a sensible and fair privatization system. Because these are the most important questions to be sorted out today. If we fail to sort them out, they will threaten us with disaster tomorrow.

I do not want to be "a father to the nation." Nations do not need fathers. They need democracy. Today, democracy is our only chance of bringing in sensible reforms and just laws. Our only hope of winning that chance is to become involved in the business of democracy and to turn our attention to the most important matters: to stop trying to run our operations with the engines idling.

Questions Show 'True Despair'

PM2509151592 Wroclaw SLOWO POLSKIE in Polish 18 Sep 92 p 3

[Editorial report: "Polish People Jump Fence"]

[Text] When Mieczyslaw Wachowski asked Walesa what he most feared as official master of the Belweder Palace, the president allegedly replied: "That people will start jumping over the fence." [reference to Walesa's leap over Gdansk shipyard fence in August 1980 to address striking workers].

Judging from the questions which you, our readers, addressed to Lech Walesa in a phone-in arranged by the SLOWO POLSKIE editorial team, it is evident that in September 1992 vast numbers of Polish people are jumping over that fence: young and old, employed and unemployed, those who were in favor of Walesa's policies and those who were against. People are challenging the president from all sides. The trouble is that, from what we know of him, he would have gladly joined the vaulting crowds were it not for the fact that his office prevents him from taking such action and effectively keeps him prisoner in the Belweder. Even so, our readers were quick to counter this particular argument with the question: "So why does he not put an end to his misery and leave? Let him resign."

This suggestion was repeated many times—to tell the truth, very many times—in our readers' telephone calls. We are hereby duly and loyally informing the president about its popularity.

Another very large "pool" of questions concerned matters in which our readers regarded Lech Walesa as the Great-and-Omnipotent-One... Only one of you asked: "What questions can you ask of a president who is not responsible or accountable for anything?" Everyone else believed that he was indeed responsible—and very much so—for everything that went on. Even for such things as improper treatment of patients at a particular local clinic. But over and above all, you insisted that he was responsible for the fundamentals in the country's life.

Thus the readers asked why a liberal model of the economy was being promoted with such insane insistence, and why national industry and agriculture were being methodically destroyed. When would there be an improvement in the financial situation of old age and disability pensioners, the handicapped, and also of workers, peasants, and the intelligentsia (to use the old categories for convenience's sake)? What future did the president envisage for Polish youth? Why had no sensible blueprint for social enfranchisement been drafted yet? Why did the law function so much less efficiently now than in the old "commie" days? Could the Sejm not be persuaded to turn its attention to the economy, and not to bother with irrelevant trifles? When would the president take to task all the large-scale fraudsters and racketeers, as he had promised to do so many times before? Why did he allow the clergy to throw their weight about in Poland, and what exactly was Father Cybula's function in the Belweder Palace? Did the president not believe that Poland's foreign policy toward Germany was too compliant, and what steps had he taken in the matter of the present persecution of Poles in Germany? When will we finally be paid compensation for property left beyond the River Bug [in territories annexed by the USSR after World War II]?

Our readers asked the president's opinion on the manner in which the previous governments—and the present one—were running the state. Was the state administration merely incompetent, or could it be described as treasonous? When would we break free of our dependence on the West? When would the armed forces cease to represent mere window dressing and will they be capable of actually defending the country in case of a military threat? Why was Poland not ruled by the majority chosen in the election? Why did "drawing-room parties" decide the model of the state system? How realistic were the promises and declarations concerning, for example, foreign loans for small craftsmen or housing loans for young couples that were supposed to be allocated out of funds sent by the United States? Was the president aware that disabled war veterans' pensions had been halved, and that all additional pension bonuses tied to war decorations, including even such major decorations as the Virtuti Militari Order, had been abolished? Why was the anniversary of the 1939 German invasion almost passed over in silence, while the anniversary of the 17 September 1939 Soviet invasion of Poland was commemorated extensively? Why are there two centers of power in Poland: the government and the Belweder Palace? When would the president emerge from the leather-upholstered doors of the Belweder Palace and begin visiting his country? Why was he forever throwing sumptuous luncheons while Polish people were living a life of poverty? Was he not aware that this generated public disapproval?

Other types of questions were simply the voices of true despair. People described their situation, asking the president how they were supposed to survive on their incomes. Here the amounts quoted were well below the critical poverty line. For example, how could a 50-year-old woman "take command of her life" when she was without work and without the right to unemployment benefits? Or, how was an unemployed man expected to support a wife and three children? How could you buy the medicines prescribed by your doctor when, after all the necessary outlays, your daily food allowance was "lower than the recommendation for

prison inmates?" Why did university-educated people have to resort to selling trashy goods from a street stall in order to survive? And, anyway, how were we expected to "hoist our own sails" when we had no sailboats?

"What did you jump over that fence for?!" one reader shouted down the telephone receiver. "I had a job and a chance of getting an apartment one day, and now I have nothing at all!"

Like the endless droning of a persistent fly, the question that we heard being asked over and over again on our office telephone was: "Is the president at all aware of the people's moods and feelings? Does he realize the scale of social discontent? Does he know how far the authority of those in power—who were once called "our men at the top"—has fallen?

Have there been any optimistic accents at all? Generally speaking, the only view that was more cheerful than others was explained as follows: At least the Polish people have sound mathematical talents: They always count on something or other; but when it comes to geometry, their abilities falter because they forget that the world is arranged as a conical structure, with those at the bottom being the most numerous. Or, even if they remember it, they refuse to reconcile themselves to it. That is why they keep petitioning and badgering their "Supreme Official-in-Charge," the "Grand Omnipotent One," the President of the Third Republic, the "Erstwhile Electrician," the "Most Eminent Strike and Trade Union Leader," Lech Walesa, to use his powers to make life easier for them at long last. And even though they themselves sometimes complain that the easier times have already come and gone, they still cling to their belief that the better times will still come along one day. That is why they want the president to do something about it all. They want him to work a miracle, or else... to resign.

We wish to thank all those among our readers who phoned SLOWO POLSKIE with their questions for the president. It was obvious from the start that because of the restricted schedule, the president would not answer all your questions. Nevertheless, we are publishing them all here for his information.

SD Congress Adopts Declaration, Statutes

LD2809083092 Warsaw PAP in English 2235 GMT 27 Sep 92

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 27—The 16th extraordinary congress of the Democratic Party (SD), that ended its debates in Warsaw on Sunday [27 September], adopted a programmatic declaration and the party's statutes, and resolved that four former party leaders would be suspened and tried by the party tribunal "for mismanagement of SD funds".

SD Chairman Rafal Szymanski told a press conference on Sunday that the adopted programmatic declaration does not link the Democratic Party with any other political party in Poland creating, at the same time, "possibilities of development". Under the declaration the consolidation and protection of the republic and observance of human rights are granted the utmost importance. Moreover it opts for the system of parliamentary democracy and market economy and recognizes local governments as the most important form of citizen's participation in governing the country.

The adoption of the party's statutes stirred up many controversies. The only SD Sejm deputy Jan Switka left the debate hall after labeling the mode of adopting it as the "utmost example of lawlessness". Speaking to journalists he claimed that "the statutes provide party chairman with too much power."

Foreign Ministry Seeks Most Favored Nation Status

AU2809194592 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1800 GMT 28 Sep 92

[Text] The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has faxed us the following statement:

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has taken note with interest of the communique issued by the president of the Democratic Convention of Romania [CDR], Mr. Corneliu Coposu, announcing that two CDR representatives will be sent to Washington to support our country's interests, and to bring about a positive vote in the U.S. Congress for granting Romania most favored nation status [MFNS].

In order to dispel the possible confusion that this communique might cause among the public, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs specifies that, in conformity with the Constitution, as in any other democratic state, our country's interests are looked after by the government. In its constant concern to achieve the reestablishment of MFNS for Romania, the government has made great efforts in this respect over the past two years and three months by appealing to the U.S. Administration and Congress.

As a result of these efforts, in June 1992 President Bush sent the Romanian-American trade accord to Congress for ratification, following the visit paid by Mr. Lawrence Eagleburger to Bucharest on 28 May 1992. The subsequent contacts undertaken by our government aimed at ensuring the necessary support for the ratification of this accord by Congress.

One of the most important meetings to recall is the meeting between Mr. Adrian Nastase, minister of foreign affairs, with a group of 30 U.S. congressmen in Vienna on 25 August 1992, as well as the daily activity of contacts within Congress by Romania's ambassador in Washington, Mr. Aurel Dragos Munteanu, during the past three months.

During a recent meeting between the Romanian minister of foreign affairs and the U.S. deputy secretary of state in New York on 23 September 1992, it was clear that following the efforts made, there are excellent chances that the Romanian-American trade accord will be ratified by a great majority during the 30 September voting, including MFNS for Romania.

The ministry appreciates the efforts made by the CDR toward achieving MFNS, especially over the past two years, since the government began to act to obtain MFNS, it has had to struggle not only with the reservations of the U.S. Administration and actions by the anti-Romanian lobby in the United States, but also with the positions against granting the MFNS held by figures who today belong to the ranks of the CDR.

Consequently, the awaited ratification of the Romanian-American trade accord by the U.S. Congress will be the result of the government's long-standing efforts based on the progress and consolidation of the democratic process in Romania, efforts that, fortunately, were recently also joined by political forces from within the CDR, the statement by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs concludes.

Central Electoral Bureau Information Bulletin

AU2809195892 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1842 GMT 28 Sep 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 28/9/1992—As the Central Electoral Bureau [BEC] specifies in its information bulletin, 7,253 candidates were nominated by 61 parties, political groupings or coalitions for the 328 deputy seats and 3,267 by 66 parties, political groupings or coalitions for the 143 Senate seats.

There were 7,572 national observers that belonged to 15 non-governmental organizations who watched over the elections.

The 42 constituencies included 14,662 polling stations.

The election process was monitored by 562 foreign observers come from 35 countries (the U.S.A., France, Great Britain, Italy, Germany, Hungary, Canada, Indonesia, Japan, Argentina, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, Spain, Australia, Tunisia, Russia, Yugoslavia, Sudan, Albania, Switzerland, Portugal, Venezuela, Turkey, Finland, South Africa, the Netherlands, Denmark, the Philippines, Greece, Belgium, Mongolia, Thailand, Austria, Bangladesh, Norway).

Observer delegations were sent by such international organizations as the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, the European Parliament, the North Atlantic Assembly, the CSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights, the UN Human Rights Centre in Geneva, UNICEF, UNDP [United Nationa Development Program], the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, Parliamentarians for Global Action, International Human Rights Federation, Standing Board of Francophone Countries, the Cultural and Technical Cooperation Agency, Helsinki committees on human rights in Great Britain, Finland, Denmark, Norway, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, the League of Arab States, mayors without frontiers (France) and Soros Foundation.

Delegations were also sent by 12 national non-government organizations from the U.S.A., France, Italy, Great Britain, Hungary, by parliaments of 19 countries and governments of seven countries, and by political parties in five countries.

According to the Central Electoral Bureau's estimates, the final election returns for president's office will be known on October 3, while the ones for parliamentary seats till October 6, 1992.

75 Percent Electoral Vote Count Results

AU2909094792 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 0900 GMT 29 Sep 92

[Text] Our reporter at the Central Electoral Bureau has provided the latest partial election returns up to 0900. They are the data from 11,048 of the total of 14,596 polling stations representing 75.7 percent of the votes cast so far.

The distribution of votes cast by the electorate so far is as follows:

For presidency:	
Ion Iliescu	48.2 percent
Emil Constantinescu	30.5 percent
Gheorghe Funar	10.6 percent
Caius Traian Dragomir	4.7 percent
Ioan Manzatu	3 percent
Mircea Druc	2.7 percent
For the Assembly of Deputies:	
Democratic National Salvation Front [FDSN]	28.1 percent
Democratic Convention of Romania [CDR]	18.8 percent
National Salvation Front [FSN]	10.4 percent
Democratic Union of Hungarian in Romania [UDMR]	8.2 percent
Romanian National Unity Party [PUNR]	7.4 percent
Greater Romania Party [PRM]	3.7 percent
Socialist Labor Party [PSM]	3.1 percent
Democratic Agrarian Party of Romania [PDAR]	3.1 percent
National Liberal Party [PNL]	2.5 percent
Romanian Ecologist Movement [MER]	2.3 percent
Republican Party [PR]	1.7 percent
For the Senate:	
FDSN	28.9 percent
CDR	18.8 percent
FSN	10.3 percent
UDMR	8.3 percent
PUNR	7.8 percent
PRM	3.6 percent
PSM	3.4 percent
PDAR	3.4 percent
PNL	2.6 percent
MER	2.1 percent
PR	2 percent.

Of the total of valid votes cast, less than one percent went to the other parties, political formations, or coalitions, the communique of the Central Electoral Bureau and the National Statistics Commission specifies.

French Observers: Elections 'Fair,' 'No Fraud'

AU2809190492 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1419 GMT 28 Sep 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 28/9/1992—During a news conference at the headquarters of France's Embassy in Bucharest on September 28 the group of French parliamentarians who monitored the September 27 general elections in Romania said that as compared with the 1990 elections one could note a relaxed, open atmosphere. They said that all in all the elections were fair, with no fraud and no incidents.

As for the material organization of the ballot, which was seen as better than in 1990, the French parliamentarians said the ballot papers accorded with the rules and voting operations ran smoothly.

However, the French observers said they had been shocked by a number of aspects which, though not illegal, could be the source of possible fraud. So, for instance, they referred to the too flexible voting system, that does not compel electors to turn out in the constituencies where they were included, to the failure to ask for a medical certificate from people who are unable to vote and to the system of the travelling ballot boxes, which are not safe. Furthermore, the French observers were amazed by the fact that in the polling stations in which they were present ballot boxes were not properly supervised.

PAC's Tanase on CD Post-Election Plans

92P20414A Bucharest TINERETUL LIBER in Romanian 17 Sep 92 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Stelian Tanase, deputy chairman of the Civic Alliance Party, by Sorin Preda; place and date not given: "We Are the Change"]

[Text] [Preda] The election campaign is nearly over. As deputy chairman of an important party, the PAC [Civic Alliance Party] , how do you characterize it? Can you compare it with the 20 May 1990 campaign?

[Tanase] The differences are evident. This campaign is much more peaceful than the campaign of two years ago. The reason is not the desire of the ruling power to impose a civilized behavior in its dealings with the opposition, but the obvious change in the balance of forces. The National Salvation Front [FSN] has split into two large groups that check each other while the Democratic Convention is on the rise and is more united than ever.

[Preda] Besides its unity, what else does the CD [Democratic Convention] rely on?

[Tanase] The CD has a great advantage due to the fact that the the FSN took full charge on 20 May. This means that it does not have anyone to share the responsibility with now. No matter how much it might try to blame others (such as conservative forces, for example) the results remain the same: The country is in a complete

state of disaster. People see this and want a change. Indeed, we are the change! We are refraining from making demagogic promises and from nurturing the illusion of a miraculous recovery. One thing is certain: We will make many changes if we are elected. Recently, we visited two mountain communes, Siriu in Buzau County and Naruja in Vrancea County. The discussions with the residents were sometimes contradictory. People have their fears about the land and their jobs, they have no confidence in politics, etc., but they are on our side. I do not know if we will be able to solve their problems when we are in office but one thing is certain: We will try! As we have said, the villagers had high regard for our sincerity. The period of theoretical approximations in regard to reform and the need for reform is over. The people want action and the CD has the capacity for viewing the real situation in the country.

[Preda] Despite the increasing approval, there are still many fears. Mr. Campeanu speaks more and more insistently about the danger of a super-party, and others about an imminent split.

[Tanase] Many have predicted our breakup. The most difficult moment was drawing up the lists of candidates. But that is over now. The CD has remained intact, although—as I said—there were terrible tensions. Even though we, the PAC, felt that we deserved more and that we were cheated on the lists, we gave in to save the unity of the CD. As for the other danger, I assure you that it is purely theoretical. The parties that belong to the CD have such diverse political platforms that, after the elections, they will reject any monolithic configuration.

[Preda] What is happening with the UDMR [Democratic Association of Hungarians in Romania]? At one time, it was a matter of the apple of discord....

[Tanase] Things are clear. The UDMR is running separate election slates, while still belonging to the CD. Any speculation in regard to this matter is null and void. Some people advertise their patriotism in words, we prove it in deeds. Moreover, the CD has registered two great successes in regard to the Hungarian issue. It is a matter of our action to moderate the World Congress in Budapest through the intermediary of the UDMR. Then, we defused the Tokes episode at the very moment when it had begun to take on the proportions of an international scandal. The voters can be certain that, in everything we do, we are situating ourselves on a firm national position.

[Preda] Another fear deals with the balance of forces in the future Parliament. Are we not facing the danger of a repeat of the political situation in Poland? All that we lack is a succession of governmental crises.

[Tanase] This is not possible because we will obtain more than 30 percent of the votes. The CD will ensure political stability in Romania!

[Preda] This assurance makes me believe that you have already prepared a concrete plan for governing.

[Tanase] Indeed, there is such a plan. We know what we have to do in the next six months.

[Preda] What will be the first measures which you will take if you win the election?

[Tanase] I cannot reveal them. In any event, we will do three things: 1) correctly evaluate the economic situation in Romania, a situation that will be publicized; 2) publicize the measures we want to take; 3) strengthen the ties between trade unions, management, and the government. The people will know, in detail, the timetable for reform and its social costs. Everything will be out in the open.

[Preda] Although the CD has stated its position precisely, its attitude toward the monarchy is somewhat equivocal.

[Tanase] It is certain that we will not bring the king into the country. But we will organize a referendum. In no case will the party or Parliament make the decision; the will of the people will decide.

[Preda] The CD promises changes but, if they are not explained, they could terrify people.

[Nastase] Many changes will affect the legislative domain. A number of laws will have to be redone: the land law, the law on privatization, and the law on the Romanian Intelligence Service. On the other hand, other important laws will be proposed: the tax law and the local budget law, the bankruptcy law, etc. Then, we will support the reestablishment of counties that have been wrongfully dissolved. Despite the great costs, a beneficial decentralization will be carried out. Also, certain points in the constitution will be clarified: the issue of ownership and the separation of powers in the state.

[Preda] At the present time, some of the voters are undecided. How do you think that the final television debate between Ion Iliescu and Emil Constantinescu will proceed?

[Nastase] By temperament, Emil Constantinescu is calm and tolerant. On the other hand, Iliescu is very aggressive. This is a serious weakness for him. Just like every dogmatic person, when he sees that reality contradicts dogmas, he becomes nervous and rash. In my opinion, in Constanta, Iliescu should not have been cursed but ridiculed, as he deserved. Iliescu has proven to be too small for such a big war. Emil Constantinescu has what could be called a campaign of good sense. Iliescu approaches problems from positions of strength: I have done, I know, I am a professional in politics, etc. He forgets that the people decide who is and who is not a professional in politics.

[Preda] Will you hazard a prediction?

[Nastase] The CD will win with 30-35 percent and there will be a second round of voting for the presidency.

Iliescu Discusses Political, Ideological Issues

AU2909083592 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 26-27 Sep 92 p 3

[Interview with President Ion Iliescu by Liana Ionescu; place and date not given: "What Inspired Us in Our Youth, Continues To Inspire Us Today"]

[Text] [Ionescu] Mr. Iliescu, I want to ask you a question that belongs in the realm of ideas rather than your personal life. You agreed with Mr. Druc that "there is no way to return to capitalism." In your opinion, toward what type of society should we be heading?

[Iliescu] I was referring to primitive capitalism. I believe that we should head toward the present-day modern society, which, as Mr. Druc rightfully said, is a modern market society that has reached the stage of maturity in capitalism and the transition to the postcapitalist stage that also coincides with the postsocialist society—what was called socialism in our country; therefore, I am talking about a society that has to incorporate both elements: a modern and dynamic market economy combined with elements of social protection to ensure social balance.

[Ionescu] Are you by any chance talking about the much-discussed—especially in the USSR—"third way?"

[Iliescu] This is not the third way. It is the direction in which the whole world is heading.

[Ionescu] Are you referring to the post-totalitarian world?

[Iliescu] No. Just think of the whole of developed Western Europe today. It is heading for a stage that preserves the characteristic traits of capitalism but that also has elements of social protection—elements of a social-democratic program.

[Ionescu] Am I to understand that you no longer believe in the ideas of scientific socialism as you declared two and a half years ago? Have you abandoned them?

[Iliescu] How shall I put it; this was a general development of human thought and of European society in the wake of World War II. A trend toward the left, immediately after the war, was linked to a democratization program based on the idea of social equity and of eliminating the big discrepancies in present-day societies. This is what it boils down to. Thus, what used to inspire us in our youth continues to inspire us today, leaving aside the rigid structures of an ideology that guided society in the wrong direction. What inspired us in our youth (he is obviously referring to communism—editorial note) continues to inspire us today, after the revolution.

[Ionescu] Are you by any chance proposing "socialism with a human face?"

[Iliescu] Why are you constantly seeking formulas and labels? One can no longer answer with rigid ideological formulas. Thus, let us rid ourselves of ideologies in general. We cannot abandon one dogma only to embrace another.

[Ionescu] Referring to 13-15 June 1990...

[Iliescu] So, what happened on 13-15 June?

[Ionescu] ...when the miners came to Bucharest...

[Iliescu] Why did the miners come to Bucharest?

[Ionescu] They had been called.

[Iliescu] Who had called them?

[Ionescu] You were the president, while Petre Roman was the prime minister.

[Iliescu] No, on 13 June violent forces committed acts of violence, which were noted and seen by the whole country, thus generating reactions. The police were beaten up and the Police Headquarters were attacked.

[Ionescu] Do you still hold the view that you expressed during those days on television, namely that the attackers were Iron Guardists dressed in black cloaks and carrying green flags?

[Iliescu] I said that the 13 June events reminded us of similar Iron-Guardist events; they reminded me of the 1941 Iron-Guardist rebellion and as far as some people are concerned, I actually was not very wrong. Look at Marian Munteanu: He has become the chief of an essentially Iron-Guardist party, in a way, through its program, its leaning, the apology for the Iron-Guardist leader, and by appealing to the Iron Guardists from the older generation to train the younger one....

[Ionescu] Have you read about the apology for the Iron-Guardist leader in the Movement for Romania's program?

[Iliescu] Yes.

[Ionescu] I doubt it.

Army Denies Withdrawal From Prevlaka Peninsula

LD2809204792 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1409 GMT 28 Sep 92

[Text] Podgorica, 28 Sep (TANJUG)—Further to the statement by Bozidar Vucurevic, president of the Serbian Autonomous Region of Hercegovina, regarding Prevlaka and his claim that members of the Yugoslav Army have begun their alleged withdrawal from Prevlaka and the broader area of Konavli, the Information Service of the 2d Army of Yugoslavia is authorized to announce the following:

"The members of the Yugoslav Army's Podgorica Corps deployed east of Dubrovnik are carrying out their regular tasks in line with the commanding body's orders. Not a single soldier or officer, not a single piece of equipment belonging to the Podgorica Corps—that is, the 2d Army—has been withdrawn from this area. Nor has such a move been planned.

"This is not the first time that Mr. Vucurevic has inflicted damage on Trebinje, its citizens, and the people of Hercegovina by making inarticulate statements and spreading misinformation. His statements testify most of all to his personal profile, his personal manners, and his respect for his hitherto comrades, fellow fighters, and friends, who have put as much as their own lives on the line in order to secure quiet nights for him and the citizens of eastern Hercegovina.

"The members of the 2d Army sincerely hope that Mr. Vucurevic's statements do not aim to instill the spirit of defeat in the Serbian people in Bosnia-Hercegovina and to ethically discredit the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and its Army," it is said in the statement by the 2d Army's Information Service.

UN Force Spokeswoman Denies Sarajevo Pullout

AU2509143092 Paris AFP in English 1413 GMT 25 Sep 92

[Text] Geneva, Sept 25 (AFP)—The United Nations, dashing hopes of an imminent resumption of an airlift to the Bosnian capital, Friday [25 September] said relief flights to Sarajevo would not be resumed so long as U.N. peacekeepers and the city were targeted by snipers and artillery.

The report came as peace mediators Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen arrived in the northern Bosnian city of Banja Luka Friday to check out reports of "ethnic cleansing" in the Serbian-controlled region. Ethnic cleansing refers to removal of minority groups from an area by intimidation or violence.

"The future of the airlift is very much in doubt still," said Sylvana Foa, spokeswoman for the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). Nineteen countries involved in the airlift need a sign of "goodwill" before any resumption of the flights, Foa said.

Four U.N. peacekeeping troops were wounded in Sarajevo Thursday when their vehicle hit a mine as they drove to a rendezvous to swap Serbian and Bosnian dead.

"They have to stop shooting," Foa said, adding that there were "shootings every night around the airport of Sarajevo."

Relief operations by land had also become increasingly difficult because of high insecurity and bad roads between the Adriatic town of Split and the Bosnian capital. Under present conditions, the UNHCR can only ferry 44 tonnes of aid to the besieged Bosnian capital per day, Foa said. However some 200 tonnes of food were needed daily for Sarajevo's population of 440,000, she said. Foa said farmers near Sarajevo continued to supply residents with fruit and vegetables for the time being but that the situation would worsen with the onset of winter.

The spokeswoman in Zagreb for the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR), Jeannie Peterson, earlier denied reports that U.N. troops were planning to pull out of Sarajevo because of the continued shooting.

"There is no question of an UNPROFOR withdrawal from Sarajevo," Peterson quoted General Philippe Morillon, UNPROFOR's number two, as saying. Morillon had told an AFP reporter on Thursday that the force was considering pulling out.

Fifty Bombing Raids Carried Out From Banja Luka

LD2809233392 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 28 Sep 92

[Text] Over the past 24 hours the aggressor has carried out 45 to 50 flights, taking off from Banja Luka airport. Its targets were Maglaj, Bosanski Brod, Teslic, and Jajce. The aggressor used cluster bombs, delayed action bombs, and 500-pound bombs.

Main Water Supply for Sarajevo Cut Off

LD2809234592 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 28 Sep 92

[Text] Sarajevans were dealt another perfidious blow this morning by the aggressor. The town's water supply has been completely paralyzed since then. The main water supply, Bacevo, which supplies the city with 90 percent of its water, was cut off last night by the aggressor. This is not a case of the power lines to Bacevo being disrupted or out of order. It has been established beyond doubt that this facility is operating normally for the temporarily occupied area of Ilidza. Tankers have been supplying the most vital consumers with water throughout the day.

Factory Bombed; Citizens Warned of Chemical Danger

LD2609172592 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 26 Sep 92

[Text] After an air raid alert, a general alert was sounded in Vitez at 1440 [1240 GMT]. Immediately after that, the enemy air force launched an attack on the town. The aggressor's target was the public firm Slobodan Princip-Seljo [former JNA main explosive factory]. The entire Vitez air defense reacted to the attack. The attack was repeated two or three times. According to the first information we received from Ilija Buha, editor of Vitez radio-television's information program, one enemy aircraft was hit.

Smoke is rising from the direction of the factory, and the Vitez firefighters brigade has been mobilized. There is still no information about the extent of the damage or about possible casualties. Since there is a great danger of dangerous acid poisoning, the information center instructed citizens not to leave their shelters and to observe the orders issued by civil defense bodies concerning protection against chemical poisoning. A general alert is still in effect in Vitez.

Delegation Departs for Talks With Slovenia

LD2809091692 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 27 Sep 92

[Text] Jure Pelivan, president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Government, and his aides left Sarajevo for Ljubljana today for talks about interstate relations between the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina and the Republic of Slovenia. The state delegation of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina at the talks with the Slovene delegation will be headed by Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency.

Karadzic: Yugoslavia Created 'To Harm Serbs'

LD2809134192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0707 GMT 28 Sep 92

[Text] Novi Sad, 28 Sep (TANJUG)—Maybe the Yugoslav idea should have been abandoned much earlier and maybe we should have created an association of Serb states, Radovan Karadzic, president of the Presidency of the Serb Republic, stated in an interview for Novi Sad DNEVNIK.

If we had formed an association of Serb states a year ago the decision-making in London, Geneva, and in the UN Security Council would have been different. However, we found ourselves in a gap between the previous situation and the real needs of the Serb nation," Karadzic said. "Yugoslavia was created to harm the Serb nation."

"I warned Vance and Owen about this and hoped that they would see for themselves that the Serbs have their state, which functions both legally and politically. This state has its own army, police, currency, state insignia, ministries, and authorities, which control 99 percent of the territories inhabited primarily by Serbs," Karadzic stressed.

"I told both Vance and Owen, whom I highly respect, that this is an era of shame for the international community, that there is no precedent for the expulsion of Yugoslavia from the United Nations. I also told them that my side should not be so sad about the loss of its UN place because we should not be in a United Nations that rushed Alija Izetbegovic's Bascarsija [Muslim-populated district of Sarajevo] into the United Nations in such a manner. I did not make a mistake, it is just that the Muslim side controls only Bascarsija. That is all that is left of that sovereign Islamic state of Bosnia-Hercegovina."

Karadzic Explains Views on Bosnia in Interview

AU2509181492

[Editorial Report] Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo- Croatian at 1908 GMT on 22 September carries a 104-minute live interview with Radovan Karadzic, president of the Presidency of the Serbian republic [Republika Srpska] of Bosnia-Hercegovina, by Milica Ostojic-Pusara. In the first part of the program, Karadzic answers the interviewer's questions in the studio, while in the second part he deals with numerous questions by the television viewers.

In a reply to the first question on the Geneva talks and whether there was any room for optimism, Karadzic replies:

"I am afraid that Messrs. Izetbegovic and Boban would not be able to answer this question either, because the fact is that they are not in full control of the situation, and that other forces have caused the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina, just as they caused the war in Croatia and Slovenia.

"I think that if these forces wanted it, the war could stop very soon. However, they do not want to establish peace at this price, at the price of Serbian dignity. The ambition of these forces is to weaken the Serbian people as much as they can. If their plan had been realized, we would have already had peace in this country. According to one scenario, the Serbian question in Bosnia-Hercegovina was supposed to have been settled by June, by the end of May. Kosovo and Sandzak were supposed to follow at the beginning of June, and by the end of summer, that is to say, by winter and the first snowfall, the Serbian question in the Balkans was supposed to be finished in the worst possible way for the Serbian people. Serbia would have been reduced to the territory that existed at the time of the Congress of Berlin.

"So, Mr. Izetbegovic is probably not in the position to end the war. If he led his people according to their needs and for their good, peace could probably be established very quickly. Finally, al-Qadhdhafi is also advising him to change course. In any case, as regards the Serbian side,

we are ready to establish a truce on all fronts as soon as possible, in two days' time, if need be."

Answering the second question on his "indirect talks" in Geneva involving the co-chairmen of the Conference on Yugoslavia, Lord Owen and Cyrus Vance, and other delegations, Karadzic says:

"We are still going through a process of separate talks, so-called bilateral talks. We met with the mediators several times, both formally and informally, especially with Mr. Vance, whom we know from before because of his plan on Krajina. There were no plenary sessions with all three delegations. It seems to me that the Croats even publicly expressed their readiness to talk, but the Muslim delegation holds the view that it can still choose the Serbs with whom it can negotiate. It even took some Serbs in its delegation to Geneva. We refer to these Serbs as Izetbegovic's private Serbs.

"However, Vance and Owen are not talking to these Serbs. They are simply not interested in who they are. They are talking to us. If Izetbegovic wants to talk about something, he has to negotiate with the Serbs while they still want to talk to him."

Asked to elaborate on offers of peace that he made at a news conference in Geneva, Karadzic says:

"So far we have made several offers concerning a unilateral cease-fire, the supervision of weapons, and even the lifting of road blocks, guarantees for convoys, and so forth, because serious accusations have been made against the Serbian side in the media and political circles. At the same time, Serbia was experiencing tightening sanctions, even though it was clear to everyone that the sanctions were not being imposed on Serbia because of the situation in Bosnia, but because Serbia was supposed to be further broken.

"However, this time we told the mediators, and this was stated publicly, that the more cooperative we are, and the more we meet the expectations of the international community, the more the situation in Serbia and Yugoslavia deteriorates. We said that we will no longer do that. We will not let up anywhere. We will not permit the strategic balance, which is making the Serbian defense possible, to be disturbed anywhere to the detriment of the Serbs. This will be so. We have done some things, but this has not imperiled the Serbian defense capability as a whole."

Asked to explain the statement he made before attending the Geneva conference, namely that he would not accept anything less than three states in Bosnia-Hercegovina, or a confederation, and to comment on the Muslims' insistence on a unitary Bosnia-Hercegovina, or the "united states of constituent regions," Karadzic says:

"They are gradually shifting toward what we have been demanding, toward what they accepted at one point in the past, on 10 March, namely that Bosnia be made up of constituent units, or constituent states that will be based on the national or ethnic principle, and then on the geographic principle, and so forth.

"However, they violated that document, they had only accepted it for the sake of accepting it, in order to gain time and to obtain international recognition. They now see that the Serbs do not want and can refuse a unitary Bosnia. They are offering some kind of a decentralized state, local autonomy and that is not enough for us, it is not satisfactory for us. After all, this would not have been enough for us even before the war. This would have been acceptable to us only if Bosnia-Hercegovina as a whole had stayed within Yugoslavia. In that case we would have accepted it. However, since they wanted Bosnia to leave Yugoslavia, we do not accept it. They propose that the regions be constituent elements of Bosnia-Hercegovina, but they envisaged these regions differently."

Asked whether he was being an optimist when he stated that the "Serbian Republic and the Croatian community could perhaps reach an agreement on ending the war," and whether this was not a contradiction in itself, considering that there were "some 60,000 Croatian soldiers in Bosnia-Hercegovina," Karadzic says:

"I must say that we have already learned through certain discreet channels that Croatia is also facing sanctions, and that, if it continues to have over 60,000 soldiers in Bosnia, if it continues to do that, it could happen that sanctions are proposed and introduced against it, with much more justification than there was in the case of Serbia and Yugoslavia.

"However, it appears to me that there are two different tracks in this case. We believe that the Croatian Democratic Community of Bosnia-Hercegovina would be prepared to end hostilities and to discuss territories. Of course, we do not have any contacts with them. These are just our impressions. We also believe that some people in Croatia would also like that; we believe that they long ago abandoned the idea of a Croatia all the way to the Drina. There are also those who believe that the whole of Bosnia should be incorporated into Croatia. As long as things stand at this, it is very difficult to establish peace. We have drafted a platform and publicly asked the Croats to cease hostilities.

"And finally, at the last assembly session in Bijeljina we invited both Croats and Muslims. Since the Croats were invited even before, this time we especially invited the Muslims and their officials and asked them to cease hostilities, for everyone to stop where he stands, on the present lines. We told them not to be afraid for their territory, because if we took some of their villages, we do not need them, we will return those parts of their territory. We will help them in establishing communications, and so forth. We do not want people to get killed because of the territories. If they continue fighting for territories, this should stop because we can settle the question of territories through political negotiations.

"However, we have not had any a complete reply from the Croatian side, while the Muslim side is not even

considering it. It has publicly stated that it will fight to the end. This means the expulsion of the Serbs from Bosnia-Hercegovina. For them the end means the end of the Serbian people in that republic and the introduction of a Jamahiriyah. They have an unrealistic aim, and because of that aim they will suffer a catastrophic defeat. They are already experiencing it on an incredible scale.

"I think that the Croats have a limited aim, a fairly realistic aim, except that they are firmly sticking to the borders of the State of Croatia [banovina], borders that were drawn by [Dragisa] Cvetkovic [head of the Serbian Government in 1939] in collaboration with [Vladimir] Macek [leader of the united Croatian opposition in 1938]. These borders were drawn under the assumption that Croatia would remain in Yugoslavia. They are still unjust and Cvetkovic should have not done that. Borders are not drawn in that way. I must say that the war between Serbs and Croats in Bosnia-Hercegovina is because of the banovina's borders. Otherwise, the Croats would be happy with the area they occupy. They already have an organized state, just as we do.

"If the Croats are ready to, we will sign peace. After all, we are inviting both the Croats and the Muslims to come and negotiate. Finally, it is thought that the conference in Geneva could accept bilateral talks of the warring sides. There are some areas in which we are in conflict with only the Croats. This is mainly in Posavina and Hercegovina. The conflict with the Muslims is in completely different areas."

Commenting on the actual war situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina, Karadzic says that "we known that there are at least 3,000 Mojahedins, who are mercenaries. We do not believe that they are volunteers, but mainly mercenaries. We now have a great problem: an enormous number of applications, that is to say, the expressed wishes of volunteers from Serbia, Serbs who originally come from Bosnia, and from Orthodox countries, to come here. For instance, 2,000 cossacks want to come immediately and fight for the Orthodox religion in Bosnia-Hercegovina."

Karadzic then goes to say that "not only do we have people who want to come here from Orthodox countries, but we also have people from Protestant countries. I only wonder how long we will be able to refuse them, and when we will have to allow forces from the Christian countries to come to former Bosnia-Hercegovina to fight for the Christian culture, and the Orthodox religion, and thus for the Serbian people."

Commenting on the Islamic conference, which was held in Zagreb at the same time as the Geneva conference, and the appeal to Muslims from all over the world to come and fight in Bosnia, Karadzic says: "I will not issue such an appeal yet, like the one issued by the Islamic leaders to the Muslims from all over the world to come to Bosnia, but this call will come by itself. We will really not prevent volunteers—at least the Serbs who originally from Bosnia and who now live in Serbia—from coming here and placing themselves under the command of the Army of the Serbian Republic, to defend our country. Of course, we will also call or sent mobilization orders to all our refugees, to all those who are able to fight and who are now in Serbia. They must come and defend their country. We are very close to completing the defense of our country, to establishing its borders. Our conscripts must come back. There is no doubt about it. They will have to come back. It is better for them to report themselves than to force us to send them orders.

"As regards Muslim volunteers, they are already here. I am afraid that this may cause an avalanche of volunteers from Orthodox or Christian countries. I believe that those 2,000 cossacks in Russia who offered to come here, together with a general, that every one of them would bring another hundred men. This would then be a clash of civilizations. I think that Europe would be very alarmed by events here."

In the second half of the program, Karadzic answers numerous viewers' questions on relations between Bosnian Serbs and Serbia, and the Bosnian and Croatian Serbs; relations with the Muslims; the Croats' stand on the situation in Bosnia; peace talks; the recruitment of Bosnian conscripts; the war situation; the media; the fate of Serbs in some parts of Bosnia, and so forth.

Answering a viewer's question on when the war will end, and what Serb casualties have been since the London conference, Karadzic says: "We do not know the exact number of casualties since the London conference. We know that since we set up our army on 20 May, we have [lost] about 1,300 soldiers. We are afraid that civilian casualties are in the region of 6,000 killed, perhaps even more. Perhaps all these 6,000 are in camps and more of them outside the camps. [sentence as heard] However, the other side has lost a very large number of soldiers. We are perhaps talking about a 1:50 ratio. Their soldiers are really being killed in large numbers, because they are not trained to fight, because they are fanaticized, because they are running on fire. The war is horrible, I must say that the war is horrible."

In a reply to a question by the interviewer on rumors about the Serbian Army conducting ethnic cleansing, Karadzic says: "These are lies, it is not correct. Ethnic cleansing was conducted by Pavelic [Croat World War II leader]. It was also conducted in this war, in western Slavonia. It was carried out through slaughter, gouging out of eyes, and massacres that are supposed to frighten the population. What has been happening in the Serbian parts of the former Bosnia-Hercegovina is that the Muslim population, considering that it was in Serb regions, demanded the right to leave. We allowed them to do so. We also demand that Serbs be allowed to leave Sarajevo and other Muslim regions. We understand these people, they are afraid to be in Serb regions now. They are demanding to leave, and they are leaving. We have never forced them out anywhere. The Army has

never done that. Perhaps some bullies did frighten the people, but we will prosecute such persons. Our Army has not done it."

In a reply to the interviewer's question about Serb women, including many pregnant, that are being held in the "houses of ill repute" [kuca srama], Karadzic says: "Bordellos for Serbian children of the age of 12-14 exist." He also says that "these bordellos are set up for soldiers. We found vouchers on the dead and captured fighters which were used for visiting these houses. These houses exist. This a horrible wound on the soul of the Serbian people and we will never forgive our enemy for this." Karadzic also adds that "we will have to liberate some places only in order to liberate the Serbs, and not in order to put these places under our control."

Answering the question on whether the "fate of 4,000 captured Serbs in Novi Grad near Odzak is known," Karadzic says: "We more or less know about them. We have freed almost all of them. We are afraid that some 400-500 are still in Slavonia where they are working as slaves for the residents of Slavonia. The rest of them were exchanged or freed."

In a reply to a viewer's question on whether he had any information on "the Serbs that stayed in Visoko and at a camp in Visoko," Karadzic says that "there are about 260 Serbs detained in Visoko. There are probably more Serbs in the town who have not been imprisoned, but they live as if they were in prison. We will demand and have been demanding that they be allowed to move freely, and to be released on the basis of the Geneva convention."

Answering another viewer's question on whether he "knows that about 160 Muslims are imprisoned in Bileca only because they are Muslims," and that they are "maltreated," Karadzic says: "I know that there are prisoners in Bileca. None of them have been arrested because they are Muslims. Just look at Trebinje. Muslims in Trebinje are free. Those in Bileca are fighters who were fighting against the Serbian Republic and the Serbian people. The prison is being visited by international organizations. They saw that conditions there are decent. The fact is that the prisoners who are not working on farms are getting two meals a day and those who are working receive three meals a day. It is also a fact that our people do not have more than two meals a day themselves."

Replying to a viewer's question whether "it was true that Muslims threw live Serb children to lions in the zoo, and whether Mr. Karadzic would accept volunteers who would be defending the Serbian people in Bosnia for nothing," Karadzic says: "We are accepting volunteers. They should come here. They will become an integral part of our army. We are not accepting volunteers from abroad as yet, but we will probably not be able to resist this for long. We will accept Russians, cossacks, and others. As regards the children, there is suspicion, there are some speculations, but we do not have a proof that this took place."

Answering a viewer's question on the fate of Serbs in Bradina and whether any of them "have survived the massacre," Karadzic replies: "About 100 Serbs were massacred in Bradina. The rest of them were taken to Konjic, Celebic, and Butrovic Polje. The Croats helped us to free some of them, some of them we will free ourselves, some of them have been freed, some of them escaped to Borci. We hope that the massacre is not as bad is it is rumored to be. We hope that the number is exaggerated."

Answering the last viewer's question on the camp in Konjic, and whether this camp "was a new Jasenovac [World War II concentration camp]," Karadzic replies: "The camp is not of that nature, but it is very drastic for Serbs. Serbs are still there."

Hadzic Calls For Alliance of Serbian States

LD2809194892 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1746 GMT 28 Sep 92

[Text] Vukovar, Sept 28 (TANJUG)—President of the Republic of Serb Krajina (RSK) Goran Hadzic proposed at a session of the RSK Assembly on Monday [28 September] in Vukovar that the Assembly initiate a meeting of all Serbian parliaments.

Hadzic said there was no longer any reason to wait for the formation of an alliance of Serbian states.

He also proposed that the RSK territorial defence be transformed into a Serbian police whose emblem would be a white eagle.

RSK Prime Minister Zdravko Zecevic in a report about his government's performance and activities planned for the future said any kind of special status within the Republic of Croatia was out of the question for the RSK and the Serbian people in it.

We are committed to an alliance of Serbian states, and the first step in that direction is a protocol by the governments of the RSK and the Serb Republic in Bosnia-Hercegovina on sharing a series of functions, Zecevic said.

The Serbs last year proclaimed their own republic in areas inside the administrative borders of Croatia where they are the majority population in protest over Croatia's secession from Yugoslavia and the degradation of their status in its new constitution from a nation to a national minority.

After the European Community on April 7 recognized the independence of Bosnia-Hercegovina at the request of its Muslims and Croats and against the wishes of the Serbs, who make up one-third of its population, the Serbs formed their own republic in Bosnia- Hercegovina.

Commenting on the work of the London conference, Hadzic said the delegations of the RSK and the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia had appeared together at the confernece, confirming once again that the problem of Krajina could not be resolved without the consent of the Serbian people.

The RSK's president emphasized that Krajina Serbs still favoured the right of peoples to self-determination.

Hadzic Rejects 'Large-Scale' Return of Croatians

LD2809215692 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1521 GMT 28 Sep 92

[Text] Vukovar, Sep 28 (TANJUG)—President of the Republic of Serbian Krajina (RSK) Goran Hadzic has said he hopes Croatian refugees will not be returning to Baranja, part of the RSK, at a large scale.

He also hoped that the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] would abide by the Vance plan and thwart the intentions of the Croatian authorities.

The authorities of the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia said they would organize the large-scale return of Croatian refugees to Baranja, eastern part of the RSK, which the Serbs proclaimed in the Croatian territories, where they make up majority population, after Croatia seceded from Yugoslavia. The RSK is under U.N. protection.

Hadzic told TANJUG on Monday [28 September] that all the governments, including Croatia's, had to abide by the Vance plan. The large-scale return of refugees could be organized only by some extremists and we would be ready for it, Hadzic said.

Illustrating the RSK's readiness to prevent illegal entry into Baranja, Hadzic said ten Croatian terrorists were prevented from entering Baranja from Croatia on Sunday night.

Regarding the Baranja civilian authorities' request for the Belgian-Luxembourg UNPROFOR battalion to be pulled out, Hadzic said that misunderstanding ensued because of the exploitation of the water from the border River Drava.

Hadzic said the RSK only demanded of the battalion to be unbiased and that he hoped it would continue fulfilling the orders issued by its superior command.

Krajina Serbs Adopt Protocol With Bosnian Serbs

LD2909004192 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2335 GMT 28 Sep 92

[Text] Vukovar, Sept 28 (TANJUG)—Members of parliament of the Republic of Serbian Krajina (RSK) unanimously adopted in Vukovar on Monday [28 September] a protocol on cooperation with the Serbian Republic in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The protocol envisages the holding of a referendum on whether a common state should be formed, which would be followed by elections for the supreme authorities.

Late last year and early this year, Serbs in Croatia and those in Bosnia-Hercegovina proclaimed their republics on the predominantly Serb-populated areas, as a reply to the two republic's secession from Yugoslavia.

Serb MPs [members of parliament] said no one had the right to seek a special status within Croatia for the Serbs in the RKS.

They supported an initiative by the leadership of Beli Manastir (Baranja, a part of the RSK located between the rivers the Danube and Drava and the Hungarian border) that an investigation be carried out into the conduct of the Belgian battalion of the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR).

The local Serbian authorities recently accused members of the Belgian batallion of violating the principles of Vance's peace plan and taking sides with the Croatian side in Baranja.

If the allegations were proved as true, the authorities in Baranja said they would demand that the Belgian battalion in Baranja be replaced by the battalion of any other country participating in UNPROFOR.

Defense Ministry Denies Army Units in Bosnia

LD2809201492 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 28 Sep 92

[Text] We have just received the following announcement from the [Croatian] Ministry of Defense:

Despite the fact that both the domestic and foreign public have been kept duly informed, and despite the denials issued by the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Croatia, some foreign media continue to write about the alleged presence of Croatian Army units on the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina; according to some newspapers, between 40,000 to 50,000 soldiers.

In our statements so far, we have made it clear that there are no units of the Croatian Army on the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina, and we believe that it would be most effective if journalists themselves would visit the mentioned areas in Bosnia-Hercegovina. The Croatian Ministry of Defense cannot understand why some newspaper companies do not wish to accept the cooperation that we have been offering for months, but continue to publish incorrect facts, which do not reflect the real state of affairs.

The Croatian Ministry of Defense strongly protests such reports and again calls on foreign journalists to visit those areas in the Republic of Croatia which are under Croatian Army control. We also advise that, to establish the actual state of affairs, foreign journalists also should visit areas of Bosnia-Hercegovina which are under the control and command of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO].

For all the above stated reasons, they should contact the relevant HVO command, since the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Croatia is not competent to issue permits for visits to these areas.

Defense Council Discusses Cooperation With Bosnia

LD2609153192 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 26 Sep 92

[Text] The National Defense Council held its second session in the Presidential Palace today. It was chaired by President of the Republic Franjo Tudjman. As the President's Office reports, the following issues were examined at the session: the addendum to the Agreement on Cooperation between the Republics of Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina and its implementation, the Ministry for Defense's proposal for the Croatian Army's peacetime structure, the question of the barracks on top of St. Gera in the Zumberak hills on the border with the Republic of Slovenia, and a report from the Minister for Internal Affairs on a police search of the HQS of the Croatian Party of Rights in Starcevic Square in Zagreb that was carried out following a search warrant.

As regards the addendum to the Agreement on Cooperation between the Republics of Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina, it was concluded that a committee would be set up which would coordinate between the Republic of Croatia and similar bodies in the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina. The committee will study and solving all open issues within the two countries' cooperation regarding the aggression waged against the neighboring republic.

It was stressed that one should invest as much effort as possible to put an end to the aggression and restore peace in Bosnia-Hercegovina. As for the Ministry of Defense's proposal for the Croatian Army's peacetime structure, a certain format was agreed on which would meet security conditions in peacetime operations. Such a format must ensure the Croatian army's effectiveness in the event of it being tasked with liberating the entire territory of the Republic of Croatia.

Also discussed were the questions of accommodation for troops and garrisons, division of active and reserve personnel, the structure of units, demobilization as well as the questions of soldiers' discipline and the need for a speeding up the creation of a modern structure in the Croatian Army.

It was concluded that a protest note should be lodged with the government of the Republic of Slovenia following Slovenia's occupation of the barracks on top of the St. Gera mountain. Croatian Prime Minister Hrvoje Sarinic will discuss the problem of the barracks and the border on this location with President of the Government of the Republic of Slovenia Janez Drnovsek as early as this week in Zagreb.

Croatia's Minister for Internal Affairs informed the Council about the first findings of the police search conducted at the HSP Council where this morning alone about three tons of weapons, ammunition and explosives had been found. To this end the police will energetically continue to investigate this case, his report states.

Jarnjak Discusses Changes in Osijek Police

LD2909034192 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 28 Sep 92

[Text] Today's visit to Osijek by Croatian Government Minister Ivan Jarnjak was an opportunity for him to acquaint the commanders of police stations and the town's top officials with changes in the Osijek Police Administration. The Ministry for Internal Affairs has so far relieved of duty the head of the Osijek Police Administration, his deputy, and the head of operations and replaced them with new people. Mr. Mato Salinovic, the former head of the Police Administration, is going to

assume his new post of the Border Police Department post in charge of the border with Serbia and Montenegro while Josip Rohacek, inspector of the Ministry for Internal Affairs of Croatia, has been appointed to his former post.

Instead of the current head of operations, Ante Matkovic, who is appointed deputy, this post will be taken on by Anto Prgonj. In addition to these changes, Dubravko Jezericic has been appointed deputy head of the Osijek Police Administration.

Minister for Internal Affairs Ivan Jarnjak told reporters about these changes at a news conference. He thanked Mato Salinovic on his contribution to the development of the Ministry for Internal Affairs. Replying to the journalists' questions, he stressed that these changes were part of a regular sequence and that the introduction of fresh people into the service would improve its performance and effectiveness and went on to say:

[Begin Jarnjak recording] I have to say that the investigative performance of the Police Administration in the broader area of Osijek has actually been above the average level in the Republic of Croatia. However, as far as the city of Osijek itself is concerned, we have not been satisfied. One of the crucial elements is probably the fact that Osijek was at war until a few months ago, that there is really a large number of refugees in this town, a large number of frustrated people. This is, however, no excuse. This is no excuse for what is going on here. At the moment, Osijek is characterized by elements of organized crime linked to terrorist activities. We must prevent this. This must be uprooted and the new team has been tasked with solving this problem. [end recording]

Slavonia Awaiting Second Phase of Vance Plan

92BA1435D Zagreb NOVI VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 1 Sep 92 p 7

[Article by Mirko Sajler: "Slavonia Awaits Second Phase of Vance Plan: Kramaric Calls Goulding to Osijek"]

[Text] *Can Vance's special envoy set a deadline for the return of exiles to eastern Slavonia and Baranja?*

Osijek—The implementation of the Vance Plan in eastern Slavonia and Baranja has gotten off to a good start. The first phase is complete—the enemy's heavy artillery has been moved to Vojvodina and Serbia. The attacks against Osijek, Valpovo, Djakovo, Vinkovci-...have ended.

However, the second phase has not been completed, and the third, and most important one, which provides for the return of exiles, has not yet begun. This is the very reason that Osijek Mayor Dr. Zlatko Kramaric has sent a letter to President Tudjman in which he asks him to see to it that Vance's special envoy, Marrack Goulding, comes to Osijek.

In the eastern sector, a sort of status quo has taken hold, which is provoking a great deal of impatience among the tens of thousands of exiles and refugees.

The Croatia side still has no reliable information about what is happening in the occupied area. Dr. Kramaric emphasizes that he has asked UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] to allow him to visit the occupied part of Osijek opstina, but he was turned down with the explanation that his safety cannot be guaranteed. How then does UNPROFOR intend to guarantee the safety of people when they go home when it cannot protect one person who would be visiting the occupied area only briefly? This is why Marrack Goulding is expected to break the stalemate and finally set a deadline for implementation of the second and third phases of the Vance Plan.

For now, the only thing that is certain is that the "mass popular migration" continues. Serbs from various regions of the former Yugoslavia are arriving in the occupied area, while Croats from Vojvodina and Kosovo are arriving in Croatia. Serbs whom Chetnik ideologists forced into exodus should return to western Slavonia. Without this there can be no return of the non-Serb population to Baranja and eastern Slavonia.

"Croatia's position is clear: There is no such thing as collective guilt. All those who did not bloody their hands can return to their homes, and their safety will be guaranteed by the Croatian State. If those Serbs who emigrated were to remain in the occupied areas, thus changing the ethnic map there, then that would represent a success for Serbian hegemonistic policy. We cannot allow that," says Dr. Kramaric.

Many Croats from Kosovo and Hrtkovacs from Syrmia have settled in the towns of Ceralije and Kulu in Podravska Slatina and Pozega opstinas. Earlier, Serbs emigrated from those towns. The danger of such migrations is that the ethnic picture will change and that part of the occupied parts of Croatia will become ethnically pure, a situation that Serbia could brandish in any negotiations on its border with Croatia. But those borders were changed by force, and the international community does not recognize them.

Vance Plan Said To Be 'Unimplemented'

92BA1435A Zagreb NOVI VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 13 Sep 92 pp 12-13

[Article by Vlado Rajic: "Who Did Not Do What, How, and When? The Vance Plan Between Signing and Implementation"—first paragraph is NOVI VJESNIK introduction]

[Text] A comparison of the 22 points of the Vance Plan with newspaper reports from the field reveals the reasons for disappointment.

The famous Vance Plan has only 22 points, of which only a few are militarily operative, so to speak. Given the fact that the blue helmets, despite their "peacekeeping"

mission, are nevertheless a military formation, the operativeness of their actions on Croatian territory, from the local perspective, is measured exclusively on the basis of this military performance. Hence the ill humor and criticism: It is held that the members of the peacekeeping forces are inadequate as soldiers, and thus insufficiently active militarily in the field. On the other hand, because they are not soldiers in the UNPROFOR [United Nations Protection Force] mission, which is conceived of in exclusively military terms, they are reproached for excessive maneuvering and politicization as a substitute for—it is alleged—frustrating the Vance Plan.

The Vance Plan was drawn up nine months ago. The blue helmets began arriving in Croatia in mid-February. What have they done in the meantime in pursuance of the mandate given to them by this plan, the content of which has not changed since then, at least not publicly, and not with the uproar that accompanied the original version? For a comparison, we will use the content of the Vance Plan as published in VJESNIK on 3 January and newspaper reports on events in the area of responsibility of the UN forces.

Basic Concept

What should have been done: The UN forces and police observers are deployed in the territory of the UNPA's [United Nations Protected Areas]. The UNPA's are demilitarized, and all military forces active here will be disbanded and disarmed. The goal is to free the people who live here from the fear of armed attack. The police observers ensure the work of the police, who will not discriminate against the population on an ethnic basis and violate their human rights. Upon the assumption of responsibility by UN forces, units of the federal army leave the territory of Croatia.

What has not been done: UN forces are deployed outside the UNPA's as well, and some units have crossed over into B-H [Bosnia-Hercegovina]. Armed formations in this area have still not been disarmed or withdrawn or disbanded. This is especially true with regard to the hinterland of the Dalmatian cities of Dubrovnik, Zadar, and Sibenik, on the Kordun-Banija battlefield, and in part of eastern Slavonia. Although the blue helmets have assumed full responsibility, units of the so-called JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] are still in the territory of Knin and so-called Krajina and continue to occupy part of Dubrovnik opstina. The army continues to hold several main roads, the Peruca hydroelectric power plant, and several other economic and strategic points in Croatia. Local police forces, in places where they even exist, are not organized according to the principle of national proportionality as established by the 1981 census. The result is a continuation of the destruction of houses, thefts, arson, and the demolition of private, economic, church, and cultural property. The local authorities are building a market on the site of the recently destroyed Catholic church in Obrovac. The UN forces have not ensured a peaceful life and work on reconstruction for the returnees, while people are not returning to many villages because their homes are located a hundred meters away from Chetnik-Army formations that have yet to be disarmed.

Areas Under Protection—UNPA's

What should have been done: These are the areas in which there must be a lasting cease-fire, but where Serbs are either the majority population or a significant minority. There are three such areas: eastern and western Slavonia and so-called Krajina.

What has not been done: UN units are also deployed in areas where there is a majority Croat population (Drnis, for example) but which are not in the zone of responsibility set out in the Vance Plan. Armed provocations have not ceased, but the devastation of eastern and western Slavonia has stopped, and the aggression against Dalmatian cities has also ended. However, the exact borders of the UNPA's have still not been established to this day; instead, so-called pink zones have been set up, but in particular the blue helmets are ineffective in curbing the effects of the war in neighboring B-H on Croatia's territory and population. The price of this ineffectiveness is being paid by Slavonski Brod in the form of devastation, and by Dalmatia in the form of no tourist season and cuts in electricity. At the same time, Croats and other citizens of Croatia in the territory of the UNPA's are not assured of even the basic conditions for normal life and work.

Deployment and Mission of UN Forces

What should have been done: UN infantry will ensure that the UNPA's remain demilitarized. Police observers will prevent discrimination by the local police against any nationality.

What has not been done: Demilitarization of the UNPA's has not been carried out. Police observers have not prevented repeated persecution of the non-Serb population, and even of Serbs themselves; the looting and arson has not ended, and the devastation continues.

What should have been done: UN infantry will be deployed throughout the entire territory of the UNPA's. They will control the main roads and monitor vehicles and the movement of people passing their checkpoints to prevent the entry of arms or armed groups into this area. In the event of clashes between the belligerent sides, the blue helmets will position themselves between the lines being held by the warring parties.

What has not been done: The peacekeeping forces are deployed in the territory of the UNPA's and are maintaining control over key roads and crossings. But since after six months all the areas covered by the UN mandate have not been demilitarized and since so-called Krajina is being used as a output for the Chetnik-Army forces that are waging war in Bosnia, it is clear that control over the flow of arms and armed forces is being exercised as specified. To be more precise, the job of disarming the Chetnik units has not been done, and their

combat operations against the Croatian Armed Forces, and especially against the civilian population, have not been halted. There has not even been a halt to the violation of Croatian airspace, as proven by the frequent air-raid warnings in Zupanja and the eastern part of Brod opstina.

What should have been done: The military observers supervise the demilitarization of the UNPA's. When that is complete, they move to the border region between Croatia and B-H. A small group of observers will be stationed in Dubrovnik.

What has not been done: Demilitarization has not been completely carried out, and local police forces have not been formed in the territories that the UNPA's comprise. It is logical that the observers have not gone into B-H in order to reduce the tension in the border regions. The fiercest fighting is taking place along the Sava line, the key border between B-H and Croatia, because the Serbian forces are attempting here to establish a corridor to the so-called Banja Luka and Knin Krajina.

What should have been done: The peacekeeping forces arrive in Croatia as soon as possible. They will be deployed in all three UNPA's at the same time. The assumption of responsibility will proceed in parallel with the process of demilitarization.

What has not been done: The peacekeeping forces were late in arriving in Croatia. They were not deployed in all three UNPA's at the same time. The UN forces have assumed responsibility, even though these territories have not been demilitarized.

Demilitarization of UNPA's

What should have been done: All formations of the JNA and Croatian Armed Forces, as well as members of the TO [Territorial Defense] who do not reside in a UNPA, will be withdrawn from that area. TO units from that area are disbanded and disarmed. Weapons are turned over to either the JNA or the Croatian Armed Forces, depending on the situation, and it is possible that the blue helmets will store the collected weapons until the end of the transitional period. All paramilitary formations are withdrawn or disbanded. Both sides are obligated to remove mines from the area where they themselves planted explosive devices.

What has not been done: Members of the UN themselves admit that the withdrawal of the Croatian Armed Forces and its heavy weaponry transpired without any problems.

The other side has delayed the withdrawal process, and at some parts of the front heavy weaponry remains in urban areas, making it even more powerful because it is in no immediate danger from the Croatian side of the front. Some of the arms have been moved from Croatia to Bosnia, but within a range that means that they still threaten Croatian cities with destruction. The disarming of the TO has been carried out in part, but some of its members have been "transformed" into local police.

Chetnik formations and so-called weekend warriors from Serbia and Montenegro continue to terrorize the population, especially in towns located in areas with a majority Serb population. The deaths of farmers in the fields and of citizens in everyday situations shows that the mines have not been removed, so that it is unclear whether that many of them were planted or whether the UN forces did not give adequate consideration to whether the belligerents were fulfilling their obligations to the extent required by the blue helmets.

Return of Displaced Persons

What should have been done: The peacekeeping forces will offer all necessary support to efforts to return those displaced persons who wish to return.

What has not been done: Accepting certain impressions from the peacekeeping forces, but especially the fact that war operations have diminished to the level of the status quo, the Croatian authorities have conducted a polling campaign among exiles in recent months.

The polls have shown that a huge number of these people want to return to their homes, even if they lie in ruins. But especially in the case of Novska, UN negotiators have told the local authorities something that is not spelled out in the peace plan, shifting responsibility to the Croatian authorities. Specifically, safe return will be guaranteed only if the leadership declares an amnesty.

Moreover, those who have returned on their own are subject to both the fear of armed attack and actual attacks, due to the unimplemented process of demilitarization.

Implementation of Vance Plan Urged by Milas

92BA1405E Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 2 Sep 92 p 5

[Interview with Ivan Milas, Croatian deputy prime minister and chairman of the State Commission for Cooperation with the UN Protection Force, by S. Lekovic in Pakrac; date not given: "The Vance Plan Must Be Implemented!"]

[Text] Pakrac—Ivan Milas, the former minister of justice and administration, is the new deputy prime minister of the Republic of Croatia, but also the new chairman of the State Commission for Cooperation with UNPROFOR [United Nations Protection Force]. Specifically, Vladimir Seks, who recently replaced Dr. Milan Ramljak in that post, has fallen sick, so that Milas has assumed his duties effective immediately. Ivan Milas gave his first statement since his appointment to VECERNJI LIST.

[Lekovic] What are the new obligations that come with your new post?

[Milas] First of all, I have an obligation as chairman of the State Commission for Cooperation with UNPROFOR because Mr. Seks is ill. I will demand of UNPROFOR only that it perform its function, which it

is obliged to perform under the Vance Plan. First of all, I will demand that trade links be established throughout all of Croatia, then, that there be a complete disarming of all paramilitary forces that have been created here and that have ostensibly been transformed into "police." But they have never been and cannot be police.

[Lekovic] Abolition is a subject about which there is increasingly vocal discussion. Is this also connected with UNPROFOR and your role?

[Milas] I cannot provide any details at this time. Croatia must do all it can to see to it that normal life returns here. And in this sense, there will be both abolition and amnesty. But the president of the republic will discuss this in greater detail at the first session of the Assembly. Still, every war is followed by peace—that much is clear to me. We will act to offer an opportunity to everyone who was misguided, but did not bloody their hands in this war, to live a normal life and participate in the Republic of Croatia as normal citizens.

[Lekovic] In many regards, the western protection sector, in which we are sitting right now, is special. Are you satisfied with UNPROFOR activity in this sector?

[Milas] I have not been in this post long enough to be able to provide more detailed information about the situation. I know as much as a representative and former government minister can know. Clearly there are problems with the area that we do not control. But as a first step, I expect the highways and railroads to be opened to traffic and the Croatian communication system to be switched on—and very soon.

Krajina Said To Import Goods for Serbia

92BA1435C Zagreb NOVI VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 1 Sep 92 p 5

[Article by Mirko Sajler: "'Borderlands' Import for Serbia"]

[Text] Osijek—The puppet regime in the so-called SAO [Serbian Autonomous Region] borderland of Slavonia, Baranja, and western Syrmia is circumventing the UN sanctions banning trade with Serbia and Montenegro, which have committed aggression against the republics of the former Yugoslavia, and are doing so under the very eyes of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force].

This has been revealed by Vukovar's Youth Television, which received a great deal of time Saturday evening on one of the channels of TV Belgrade. From the Vukovar TV studio, it was openly said that all types of engine fuel are being imported into the borderland through the port in Vukovar. Some of the imported gasoline is also transported into Serbia.

Now, the self-styled leadership of that puppet entity alleges that the sanctions do not relate to their borderland, which has no ties with Serbia. Once again, the Serbs are interpreting matters as suits them. The UNPROFOR command for Sector East has received instructions to monitor all border crossings to prevent any trade in goods between the so-called borderland and Serbia and to prevent the circumvention of the UN sanctions through occupied territory.

Nevertheless, it appears that the international blockade of Serbia is being broken in several Danube ports, whereby the one in Vukovar is the dominant one. Gasoline and diesel fuel, and probably other goods as well, are arriving in the so-called borderland and Serbia from abroad by way of river transport.

Has UNPROFOR failed to monitor Danube ports? Few people believe that. On the Croatian side, the assessment is that the blue helmets—and it is a Russian battalion that is stationed in this area—have been looking the other way with regard to what is happening there. This is because it is certain that tankers with fuel cannot enter Vukovar harbor without being observed. The central command of the UNPROFOR forces in Zagreb, as well as the UN secretary general, have yet to be informed of these events in order to thwart this violation of the sanctions imposed on Serbia and Montenegro.

The prevailing opinion is that the Russian battalion should be sent to some other area. Members of the blue helmets, who are not handicapped by the need to look the other way, should be sent there.

Croat Exiles Wish To Return to Vukovar

92BA1435B Zagreb NOVI VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 8 Sep 92 p 7

[Article by Krunoslava Banic: "Preparations for Major Return: Vukovarians Want To Go Home"]

[Text] *In the first group, exiles from Bogdanovci, Tovarnik, Lovas, Bapska, Ilok, Sarengrad, Mohovo, and Opatovac would return, while the second group would comprise exiles from Vukovar, Sotin, Miklusevci, Boksic, Tompojevci, Cakovci, Berko, Petrovci, Svinjarevci, and Celije.*

Vinkovci—Even the Vukovarians would be going home by 30 September of this year! "We, exiles from Vukovar opstina, seek our return on the basis of generally accepted principles of the civilized world and of all international standards concerning the rights of man.

"We seek to return to our homes; on our property to which we had, have, and will have an inalienable right," the Return Committee of the Vukovar Opstina Commission emphasizes in its demand directed at the UN High Commissioner for Refugees and at the competent UN institutions in charge of civilian questions. "From these institutions we expect a guarantee of safety for our return; we maintain that there is no reason to postpone this and that it can be expected as early as the beginning of autumn," the Committee asserts.

The Vukovar exiles feel that the most important condition for returning is a change in the authorities in the

occupied areas who were brought to power by the war, since UNPROFOR [United Nations Protection Force] has assumed responsibility, and the eviction of the people who have occupied their homes. "We are acquainted with the real problems of the return operation. Allowing for these difficulties, we are willing to return gradually, while sticking to a fixed schedule," the demand for return explains. Specifically, the Vukovarians feel that first of all returns should be allowed to those villages in which the Croat or non-Serb population was in an absolute or relative majority according to the 1991 census, and only then should they be allowed to return to villages where the Serb population is in a majority. In the first group, exiles from Bogdanovci, Tovarnik, Lovas, Bapska, Ilok, Sarengrad, Mohovo, and Opatovac would return, while the second group would comprise exiles from Vukovar, Sotin, Miklusevci, Boksic, Tompojevci, Cakovci, Berko, Petrovci, Svinjarevci, and Celije. The Return Committee has also provided exact dates—the first group would set out on 30 September and the second on 15 October of this year. Exiles from Vukovar opstina have already let it be known in writing that they want to return, and now they are demanding it. "UN representatives and international factors cannot turn a deaf ear to this demand of ours. They cannot justify themselves through inadequately substantiated arguments about how they are thwarted from doing this by certain 'local authorities' brought to power by the war and by newly settled inhabitants."

If the newly settled people have nowhere to go, the Vukovar exiles inform them that the Republic of Croatia has guaranteed housing for all its citizens and victims of war, meaning them as well, if they did not participate in the armed rebellion against Croatia and provided that they are Croatian citizens. All the others who came from who knows where must leave, but if the United Nations does not know what to do with them, then they should look for some other area.

"If the process of return does not take place peacefully, then there will be no other solution than to return what belongs to us by force. No one will prevent us from doing this," the resolute Vukovarians say.

Prosecution of 'Death Squad' Members Discussed

92BA1405G Zagreb NOVI DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 31 Aug 92 p 22

[Article by Bosiljko Misetic: "Who Wants Chaos and Anarchy: There Will Be No Rule-of-Law State Unless Perpetrators Are Exposed and Punished"]

[Text] It is hard to say of the latest murders that they took place under the patronage of the government. Specifically, there is such a thing as direct and indirect patronage. I suspect that they were carried out under direct patronage, but then they are certainly under indirect patronage, which need not assume the form of action, but can also be in the form of inaction. In a political system where such murders and liquidations occur, if the institutions of that system do not respond to this or respond inadequately, then they are participating in this either through action or through the failure to do something. Croatian authorities cannot dodge their responsibility, although I am not saying that they are directly involved in this. I link all of this to the murders in Hercegovina. If this is not halted and if there is no response to it from the instruments of the rule-of-law state, through the exposure and punishment of the perpetrators, then there will be no rule-of-law state either. Croatian authorities, or rather the institutions of the political system, must respond to the question of whether someone in Croatia is doing this consciously and in this way undermining the young Croatian State. Since the beginning of the war, I myself have often stressed that the rule-of-law state must function not as a demagogic platitude, but as a reality. If it does not begin functioning, then anarchy and chaos will prevail, and then we all become prisoners of that, leading us to the chasm of ruin. This is not a question of the ability, but rather of the will of the Croatian authorities to react. Through its reaction to this, the government will show how interested it really is in the Croatian State. If it does not respond with the instruments of the rule-of-law state, then it no longer has the legitimacy to call itself the government that is in power in the interest of the Croatian nation and the young Croatian State. This series of murders in recent days is the very thing that we feared: the possibility that Croatia could become Lebanonized, and unfortunately this is the beginning of the Lebanonization of Croatia. Regardless of how much the situation is neither war nor peace, regardless of how young the state is, there is no justification for the lack of reaction to this problem because both the political and the legal system have instruments of power at their disposal and they can react. It is simply a question of will and energy. But then it is necessary to react in the same way to everything—beginning with the illegal occupancy of apartments, where this all began. A state that is created by war is to a large extent created by the people together with the armed forces. If there is no order and discipline in the armed forces, then there is no good fortune either. The first thing is to establish armed forces with order, discipline, and responsibility. What is happening is certainly not the result of the state's powerlessness because there is no state that can fail to react to this. If it does not react to this, then there is an obstruction in the Croatian Government, conscious omissions by individuals who want to provoke chaos and anarchy, and thus the destruction of the Croatian state.

'Sensationalism' Blamed for 'Death Squad' Reports

92BA1405H Zagreb NOVI DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 31 Aug 92 p 23

[Article by Dr. Miro Jakovljevic: "Fear and Uncertainty: Every War Brings With It Plenty of Death Squads"]

[Text] This time of ours is characterized by irresponsible statements and theories in the media, and one of them is this idea of the existence of death squads. This is one of

the ways of creating uncertainty, which is already one of the basic features of these times of war. However, the creation of this uncertainty can be the goal or perhaps the result of psychological warfare against Croatia. Indeed, one of the issues here is the apparent misunderstanding of the term "democracy."

I do not believe in death squads like the ones in Latin America, organized and paid by the government, but it must be said that every war brings with it plenty of death squads.

The problem is that a great deal of unverified information is being made public or flippantly interpreted, while people at this time are reacting mostly emotionally instead of rationally. An emotional reaction can easily lead to muddled behavior, but the blame rests with those who use information for their own political struggles without regard for the consequences. Certainly the media must also consider their own sensationalist approach to writing, because that too elicits an atmosphere of distrust and uncertainty. Apparently sensationalism is more important to them than reflecting on how their writing is reflected in popular consciousness.

People are very adaptable and adjust easily to various horrors, from the psychological to the physical. In the same way, they adjust to assassinations, murder, bombings.... An example is the explosion in Marinko Bozic's car, where people most often reacted with, "That's his business, it doesn't concern us."

People react in different ways to the state of general uncertainty provoked by the example of the death squads. Some reconcile themselves with the situation, adopting a fatalistic approach to everything that is happening; some attempt to change the situation, fighting for changes either on the level of their own microcommunity or beyond, thus exposing themselves to the possibility of death; and some live in a continuous state of suspense, which only reinforces their uncertainty. As people become more tense, they begin, from a position of fear, to see things from a distorted perspective, thus joining a closed circle, and then the victim most often becomes the pursuer, motivated by his fear that forces him into aggression.

With time, reactions can assume a collective form, as was the case with the Serbs, where individual stories about being endangered became part of the collective consciousness. Thus, it is important to create a collective sense of security, although certainly not a spurious one. Because if we say that death squads exist, then we heighten fear and uncertainty, but if we say that murders are happening but that the rule-of-law state will resolve them, then we develop faith in ourselves and our reactions will not be paranoid.

Kucan Says Croat Relations at 'Lowest Point Ever'

LD2809200492 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1845 GMT 28 Sep 92

[Text] Ljubljana, Sept 2 (TANJUG)—Slovenia's relations with Croatia have reached their lowest point ever, President of the Slovenian Presidency Milan Kucan said at a news conference in Ljubljana on Monday [28 September].

Kucan's statement comes just a day ahead of the date set for a meeting of Slovenia's and Croatia's [word indistinct] ministers which now seems in some doubt.

Without listing the causes of the growing rift between the once closest allies in the struggle to break away from Yugoslavia, Kucan said disagreements on important inter-state matters could easily widen the split.

Slovenia would welcome an application by Serbia and Montenegro for U.N. membership, he said, adding that Slovenia's support would depend primarily on the fulfilment of conditions laid down by the international community.

Commenting on Lord Carrington's recent statement that Europe's recognition of former Yugoslav republics had been premature, Kucan said it reflected a lack of knowledge about the real situation.

The recognition should have taken place even earlier, he said.

Auditing Service Presents First Economic Report

92BA1419A Ljubljana DNEVNIK in Slovene 27 Aug 92 p 3

[Article by Marjan Lekse: "Losses Considerably Higher Than Capital Formation"]

[Text] *The SDK [Public Auditing Service] has provided information on business performance in the first half of the year. Bookkeeping statements have been submitted by 16,140 enterprises, which is 2,831 more than last year.*

Ljubljana, 27 Aug—This year we cannot expect favorable business results from the balance sheet of the Slovene economy, which is in a very difficult position. There are still too many difficulties for the economy to be able to devote itself to creativity and business success. That assessment is indicated by the midyear data on business results and the financial-economic position of enterprises in the economy, on the basis of bookkeeping statements for the period January-June 1992, which were provided yesterday at a press conference by the SDK's general director, Igor Omerza, and his colleagues.

The business performance of the economy as a whole is 47.744 billion tolars in the red, which is the extent to which total outlays were higher than earnings. The total losses noted in the first half of the year amount to 68.711 billion tolars, and are five and a half times larger than capital formation in the Slovene economy. In the first six months of this year, the latter has increased exports by 2 percent, reduced imports by almost a fifth, and achieved a very favorable result in the coverage of imports by exports, 109.4 percent.

This year we can talk about the first real state report on business results and the property-financial position of the Republic of Slovenia's economic enterprises, since the previous reports were still prepared within the framework of the former Yugoslavia, Igor Omerza stated by way of introduction. Bookkeeping statements have been submitted by 16,140 of the 24,300 enterprises registered. Eight-thousand registered enterprises were thus not active, and it was not necessary for them to compile and submit bookkeeping statements. It should be stated, however, that there were 2,831 more enterprises that submitted bookkeeping statements for the first half of this year than there were last year. Of the 16,140 enterprises that submitted the midyear statements, 12,500 of them were private ones (almost 80 percent), but they employ only 23,500 workers, or only 4.5 percent of those employed in the state's economy. Social ownership is still predominant.

Illiquidity

According to the data from the state's statistics institute, the quantitative volume of industrial production during the first half of this year was 16 percent lower than in the same period last year. Igor Omerza emphasized that the Slovene economy's difficult situation was reflected in illiquidity, which was even more pronounced than last year and before. For several years now, the number of enterprises whose transfer accounts have been blocked for more than five days a month has been growing inexorably.

In 1990, there were an average of 342 such enterprises per month with 154,000 employees, in 1991 there were 793 such enterprises with 192,000 employees, and in July 1992, there were 1,766 enterprises with more than 200,000 employees (i.e., 38 percent of those employed in the Slovene economy). With the official ban on applications for the initiation of bankruptcy proceedings, failure to make payments and the lack of financial discipline have spread considerably. If there had not been a moratorium on the submission of applications for the initiation of bankruptcy proceedings, the SDK would have reported 878 enterprises, in which 97,482 workers are employed, to the appropriate courts between July 1991 and July 1992. One also should not overlook the data from the noneconomic sector, since 92 legal persons with a total of more than 11,000 employees have been blocked.

Economy's Losses

Operating losses in the first half of this year have been recorded by 3,944 enterprises, which employ 228,000 workers, or 43 percent of all those employed in the state's economy. The total loss amounts to 68.711 billion tolars, which means almost half a billion marks, calculated according to the mark's average exchange rate for the

first half of the year. The total loss is five and a half times higher than capital formation in the Slovene economy. The data on losses, however, should be treated with certain reservations, since they also include losses in the electrical industry (20.979 billion tolars), where there have been certain duplications.

Maneuvering Room

Meta Goslar Kosak, assistant general director of the SDK, pointed out that the fundamental regulation governing the determination of business results and property and the sources of property was still the 1989 law on bookkeeping, with all its illogical elements, inaccuracies, and complications. This means that the revaluation system that does not ensure maintaining the real value of capital as a whole, which is mandatory for all enterprises regardless of their business results, is still valid. Enterprises have been given a certain amount of maneuvering room for decisions on the extent to which they will subtract the effects of inflation from their business results, and what kind of capital value they will maintain.

Capital Formation and Wages

Capital formation, broadly defined, along with total consumption, was determined to be 12,526 million tolars after the first six months of this year, which is scarcely 1.1 percent of the economy's total earnings. The modest amount of capital formation is shared among 11,050 enterprises (68.5 percent of all enterprises). Almost four-fifths, or 8,784 of them, are private enterprises. They account for 32 percent, or 4.005 billion tolars, of the capital formation. In the socialized sector, capital formation was noted by 1,538 enterprises, in the amount of 5.476 billion tolars, which represents 43.7 percent of total capital formation. Somewhat less than a fourth of the total capital formation (3.013 billion tolars) was contributed by 646 enterprises with mixed ownership.

In the first half of this year, 137.362 billion tolars were distributed for wages. This is 183 percent more than in the first half of 1991, and 12 percent of all the earnings recorded by the economy.

Tax Collection

In response to a question about how tax collection was going, Deputy General Director Romana Logar answered that in the first half of the year enterprises had to pay over a billion tolars in overdue interest because of delays in paying taxes. The SDK also conducted an audit of the payment of sales tax at 112 private enterprises. They had to pay 12 million tolars in sales tax and over 5 million tolars in overdue interest, and 181,000 tolars from excess tax collection was refunded to them.

Capital Structure

Romana Logar likewise said that the structure of capital here was gradually changing. Certain additional capitalization processes, within the framework of holding relationships, have already been carried out by 367 enterprises, but no one has protected social capital. Profits are only being ascribed to the amount of the shares, and are not being added to social capital. Profits, in fact, are being distributed on the basis of the regulations, and the SDK cannot substitute for the government or parliament, which are responsible for adopting appropriate legislation, as was likewise stated yesterday.

International

Milosevic Comments on Talks With Owen, Vance

AU2809221492 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 28 Sep 92

[Interview with Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Republic of Serbia, by Zoran Jevdjovic and an unidentified reporter in Belgrade on 28 September—recorded]

[Text] [Jevdjovic] Could you please give us your impressions after the talks with Mr. Vance and Mr. Owen? We have seen that Mr. Vance stayed a short time. Can you tell us something about that? Has (?an agreement) been reached?

[Milosevic] There is no secret there. Simply, Mr. Vance had an obligation connected with time. He had to hold very important talks with the United Nations and that is all. We have, of course, talked about all the major and essential questions. If you are interested in the main issues of the talks and my impressions, then I will tell you that my impression is that both Vance and Owen as cochairmen of the Conference on Yugoslavia have very firmly decided to ensure in the shortest possible time the full cooperation of all the participants in the Yugoslav crisis, so as to ensure peace as soon as possible, something which, after all, complies with our long-term policy and which has been the approach of the Republic of Serbia to solving the Yugoslav crisis from the very beginning. Now we have a much better situation in the negotiating process because, despite all obstructions and pressures from all sides, we did manage to establish the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which has established its institutions and, as such, has been appearing on the international scene in the spirit of our policy and the need for our interests to be affirmed in all respects.

As for specific questions, during these talks I broached particularly the question of sanctions. Namely, what is involved is a completely specific approach. If UN representatives are present here and present not only in the form of the highest officials, such as Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen, but also through their numerous officials virtually throughout Yugoslavia, then one can reasonably assume that they have obtained a completely clear picture of the real situation and events in Yugoslavia. Therefore, they have also obtained a clear picture of the fact that the Republic of Serbia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia are in no way militarily engaged in the clashes in Bosnia-Hercegovina, which was the main reason for introducing sanctions. Therefore, we expect these sanctions, which are causing great damage to our economy, to be lifted as soon as possible. We expect this question to be examined with great understanding and we have been given assurances that it will be, because, after all, if there are no grounds for the accusations which gave rise to the sanctions, then there is no reason to extend these sanctions. There is particularly no reason to extend them to those areas which can neither directly nor indirectly have any connection with any war operations, such as imports of crude oil for heating, natural gas for the normal operating of industry, heating, and other functions, regular air flights, and so on. Of course, here I mean civilian flights, JAT [Yugoslav Airlines]—I did in fact mention JAT. Therefore, involved here is an entire series of questions, which—considering the huge quantity of information that the United Nations undoubtedly possesses at the moment—can be discussed and on that basis conclusions made about the possibility of first reducing the sanctions and then lifting them completely. We discussed that above all, of course, while talking about the need to solve the Yugoslav crisis as a whole. You know the principles behind our approach to solving the Yugoslav crisis. After all, you have recently had the opportunity to hear the statement by Lord Carrington, the former chairman of the Conference on Yugoslavia. By pointing out the mistakes made, he only confirmed that it was necessary to stick to the principles upon which the conference began. He confirmed how wrong it was to decide in favor of premature recognition for first Slovenia, then Croatia, and finally, the greatest mistake made by recognizing Bosnia-Hercegovina, something which has brought about the escalation of hostilities and finally to the deteriorating situation and the tragic outcome that we would all like to forget as soon as possible.

In a word, it is my impression that both cochairmen harbor a firm desire to shed the right light on things and in a constructive way propose solutions that would suit everybody in the territory of the former Yugoslavia, including those who have stayed in Yugoslavia, in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, that is, in Serbia and Montenegro.

[Unidentified reporter] Was the issue of Kosovo and Sandzak touched upon in particular (?during the talks) today?

[Milosevic] Kosovo was discussed today, but not in detail. You know our position on that. I tried to briefly explain that to Lord Owen, who is in a way new in this huge job of solving the Yugoslav crisis, and it boils down to what seems to me to be an approach that is fully understandable and clear to everyone. Namely, it is undoubtable that human rights and minority rights of any national minority in Serbia do not involve just internal questions of either Serbia or any other state, because there are universal human rights and universal rights of minorities involved. Therefore, I pointed out that as far as Serbia is concerned, they can be sure that Serbia is ready to respect, guarantee, and implement the highest standards of the CSCE, but that everything else beyond the human and civil rights within the framework of the highest CSCE standards represents internal questions of the Republic of Serbia and that it will solve these questions in conformity with its Constitution. I hope there will be understanding for such a position, and we have heard again today that there can be no territorial changes and that the international community will support no territorial aspirations concerning the territory of the Republic of Serbia, therefore, concerning the part of

the territory which is on the territory of the Autonomous Province of Kosovo and Metohija. That will be all.

Cosic Talks With Vance, Owen End

LD2809212992 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1833 GMT 28 Sep 92

[Text] Belgrade, 28 Sep (TANJUG)—The talks in Belgrade's Palace of the Federation between Yugoslav President Dobrica Cosic and the cochairmen of the Conference on Yugoslavia, Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen, ended this evening

Both sides noted their satisfaction with the talks and added that during the several-hour long meeting considerable progress was made in resolving some of the issues of paramount importance for tackling the Yugoslav crisis.

Lord Owen stressed his satisfaction at the progress made in the talks which, he said, will help to resolve some of the issues contained in the communique signed in Belgrade 11 September by President Cosic, Prime Minister Panic, and the two cochairmen. According to him, this primarily refers to the opening of the Belgrade-Zagreb highway and the construction of the Maslenica bridge [in southern Croatia].

Cyrus Vance expressed his particular satisfaction with President Cosic's decision to accept an invitation to meet with Croatian President Tudjman in Geneva on 30 September aimed at beginning the process of negotiations about controversial issues between the FRY and Croatia with the help of the two cochairmen.

President Cosic said that today's talks were "wide-ranging and positive." As he put it, "again today Vance and Owen confirmed their strong determination to succeed in their mission and displayed deep understanding for our problems."

"I wish to assure our public that we are talking to the people who understand us well and who wish to help us," Cosic said, adding that he hopes that "our efforts toward peace and the stabilization of the situation on the territory of former Yugoslavia will be successful. Of course, this will not happen tomorrow or the day after but it will happen in due course," the Yugoslav president stressed.

Asked about the sanctions, Cosic noted that "the heavy punishment meted out to us have caused anxiety" and the Federal Government will do its utmost to see them lifted.

According to Cosic, the conference cochairmen expressed understanding for Yugoslavia's difficulties resulting from the sanctions. He went on to add that he is convinced that "in the two cochairmen we are dealing with people who will help us to make the world understand us better. It is up to us, of course, to do all we can to remove the reasons behind the sanctions."

"I must say, I feel a certain amount of dissatisfaction which, I hope, I share with our public, that contrary to our expectations, up to now the international community has not responded to all the positive measures we have taken, to our sound and serious efforts to convince the world that we are for peace and that all we are doing is aimed at achieving peace and consolidating the situation in the region of both Yugoslavia and the Balkans. I firmly believe that over the next few days the international community will understand our position and will start lifting the sanctions," President Cosic said.

It has been learned from sources close to the Yugoslav president's office that Cosic and his collocutors discussed the question of Prevlaka, that is, an agreement on its demilitarization. The same sources recalled that an agreement in principle on Prevlaka had already been made at an earlier stage and that this was, as far as the Yugoslav side is concerned, a collective decision. As is known, Prevlaka was also discussed by the Supreme Command including the presidents of Serbia and Montenegro.

Vance and Owen will send the details of today's talks about Prevlaka—which has also been discussed by General Zivota Panic, chief of the General Staff of the Yugoslav Army, and General Philippe Morillon, commander of the UNPROFOR force in Bosnia-Hercegovina—to UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali who will pass this information on to the Security Council. Afterwards the UN Security Council is expected to endorse the agreement on Prevlaka's demilitarization.

The war in Bosnia-Hercegovina was the unavoidable subject of today's talks. In his extensive address, President Cosic said that the world's approach so far to the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina, as far as the world is concerned, has not been adequate and that this issue should be discussed on a broader basis. He spoke in favor of putting an immediate end to the war and an urgent agreement between the three constituent peoples on the internal make-up of this former Yugoslav republic. At the same time, Cosic warned of the danger of internationalizing the conflict in Bosnia-Hercegovina as he stressed the role of Islamic countries in this war.

Circles close to the Yugoslav president stress that Vance and Owen expressed concern at the situation caused by the intention to provoke Croatian refugees into returning to Baranja. The Yugoslav side has said that the problem of refugees must be solved in a totally agreeable and peaceful way.

The cochairman of the Conference on Yugoslavia left Belgrade for Geneva tonight. As Lord Owen said on his departure, they will meet Alija Izetbegovic in Geneva tomorrow.

During their one-day working visit to Belgrade Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen also talked with Serbia's President Slobodan Milosevic and General Zivota Panic, Chief of the Yugoslav General Staff.

Democratic Party President Meets With Vance, Owen

LD2809165192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1523 GMT 28 Sep 92

[Text] Belgrade, 28 Sep (TANJUG)—In Belgrade today, Democratic Party [DS] President Dragoljub Micunovic met with the cochairmen of the Conference on Yugoslavia Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen.

According to the DS information service, the leader of the DS and the cochairmen held talks in the Palace of the Federation in Belgrade. They discussed the problems of the peace process on the territory of former Yugoslavia, the war in Bosnia, and the status of Prevlaka.

The cochairmen of the international Conference on Yugoslavia invited Dragoljub Micunovic to Geneva for the resumption of the talks on the Yugoslav crisis.

Federal

Cosic Sends 'Priorities' Letter to EC President

LD2809194192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1537 GMT 28 Sep 92

[Text] Brussels, 28 Sep (TANJUG)—Yugoslav President Dobrica Cosic sent a letter to Jacques Delors, president of the European Commission, saying that the FRY leadership is firmly resolved to pursue peace and democracy as the priorities of their policy.

Assessing that the conference in London could be of decisive importance for peace efforts, Dobrica Cosic stressed that Yugoslavia will do everything on its part for the implementation of conclusions reached at the conference. Our primary goal, the Yugoslav president goes on to say, is to stop the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina, for which the resolve and good will of all three warring sides is necessary. In this sense it is necessary to exercise balanced pressure and influence on the Muslims, Serbs, and Croats in Bosnia-Hercegovina, Cosic says in the letter.

Informing the EC president about the efforts being made by the FRY to intensify democratic processes, Dobrica Cosic mentioned among other things roundtable talks as an initiative for arriving at an agreement between the ruling and opposition parties regarding rules for the new elections to be held before the end of the year; he also mentioned the opening of a dialogue with national minorities, measures that have been taken to prevent intolerance and violence such as ethnic cleansing or illegal activities of some paramilitary formations on the territory of the FRY.

We have been taking all the above measures under extremely difficult economic circumstances caused by the international embargo and the effects of the war in the former SFRY, the Yugoslav president says. The Yugoslav economy, punished with the embargo, and its impoverished population have, in addition to other problems, to care for over half a million refugees, Serbs, Muslims, Croats, Yugoslavs, and others who have come here from Bosnia-Hercegovina and Croatia. The embargo is directly threatening the lives of about 150,000 citizens of the FRY including 40,000 children. These are the people whose earnings from abroad—such as pensions, family and social welfare benefits—have been blocked. No understanding is being shown even in the case of these purely humanitarian problems.

In his letter to Jacques Delors, the FRY president welcomes the efforts toward further European integration in which room must be found for all the nations of Europe and not just those in the West. Despite our present difficulties and our physical and economic isolation, we continue to feel and live as an inseparable part of the body of Europe, of its past, its present, and its future. In the present situation our relations with the EC are a key factor of our policy, the Yugoslav president says and goes on to express hope that the president of the European Commission will extend support to the FRY leaders' efforts to that end.

Yugoslav Conference Participants Resign

92BA1424B Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 7 Sep 92 p 6

[Press release issued by Serbian experts: "Yugoslavia's Continuity at Issue"]

[Text] Belgrade—Experts from Serbia who were engaged in expert groups of the Conference on Yugoslavia announced yesterday that their work in those bodies is being terminated. The reason they gave for this step is that the government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] has named its own representatives to expert groups of the Conference on Yugoslavia in Geneva.

The press release states: "Experts from Serbia who were engaged by the government of the Republic of Serbia in expert groups of the Conference on Yugoslavia from the beginning of its proceedings learned through the news media on 5 September 1992 that the government of FR Yugoslavia had named its own representatives to expert groups of the conference in Geneva.

"The following have participated as experts from the Republic of Serbia in the proceedings to date of the Conference on Yugoslavia: Dr. Kosta Mihailovic, professor and member of the academy, Dr. Smilja Avramov, professor, Dr. Oskar Kovac, professor, Dr. Ratko Markovic, professor, Dr. Milenko Kreho, Dr. Vladan Kutlesic, Dr. Dragos Gnjatovic, and Mira Staljanin.

"In the proceedings of the Conference on Yugoslavia to date, in The Hague and Brussels, the experts from Serbia, who since adoption of the Constitution of FR Yugoslavia have worked with the experts from Montenegro as a unified group of experts, have based their approach on strict honoring of the following principles:

"1) That an overall solution to the Yugoslav crisis is to be found on the plane of respecting the rules of international public law. Those rules have been essentially violated in the opinions of the so-called Badenter Arbitration Commission.

"2) That FR Yugoslavia, regardless of the territorial reduction that occurred through secession of certain republics, is an extension of SFR Yugoslavia in the context of international law.

"3) That settlement of the status of the Serbs in Croatia must be sought exclusively on the basis of the so-called Vance Plan, with the presence of forces of the UNPROFOR [UN Protective Force], and on the basis of political solutions, through direct negotiations in which representatives of the Serbs from Croatia participate.

"4) That the constitutional and legal solution to the crisis in Bosnia-Hercegovina can be found only with consent of all three nationalities and on the basis of the results to date at the conference in Lisbon.

"5) That ethnic minorities in Serbia be guaranteed the maximum rights set forth by the relevant rules of general international law, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, and the EC, but with the obligation that the territorial integrity of the Republic of Serbia be respected. However, this position is directly opposite to the demand of the EC, the Republic of Croatia, and others at the Conference on Yugoslavia that a special status be established on the territory of Serbia in Kosovo, in Metohija, and in Backa, and that there is a complete analogy between the status of the Serbs in Croatia and that of the minorities in the Republic of Serbia.

"6) That in resolving the Yugoslav crisis respect must be paid to the equal rights of all nationalities without discrimination.

"7) That those republics which so desire, aside from a customs union and free trade zone, as the lowest forms of integration, accept economic union as a higher form of economic integration.

"8) That severed economic ties be reestablished without revanchism between the republics and all physical and material obstacles be removed. In that context, a resolute demand was made for removal of the economic sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro as being without foundation.

"9) That the division of the rights and obligations of the SFRY be done fairly. Preventing unjustified enrichment of some at the expense of others. All assets and liabilities of the entire final division, all jointly acquired rights, and all jointly created obligations should be stated in uniform value terms in order to establish the material basis for compensation arrangements between the various republics so as to avoid partial solutions.

"The team of experts from Serbia regularly filed reports on the work based on those principles with the Foreign Ministry and government of the Republic of Serbia.

"Profoundly aware of the fact that the act of appointing federal representatives to expert groups at the Conference on Yugoslavia in Geneva jeopardizes the thesis of the continuity of FR Yugoslavia, on the basis of which experts from Serbia and Montenegro have since adoption of the Constitution of FR Yugoslavia acted as a unified delegation, we are informing the public that our involvement in expert groups of the Conference on Yugoslavia is hereby terminated," states the press release signed by members of the expert groups from Serbia.

Problems With Monetary Policy Discussed

92BA1424C Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 7 Sep 92 p 11

[Article by Jasna Kesic: "The Hunger for Primary Bank Notes"]

[Text] General chaos prevails in the monetary sphere in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY]: Immense amounts of money of unidentified origin are circulating in Serbia and Montenegro, and the central bank has no idea how much of it there is or where it came from. It only knows that it itself did not contribute to that immense expansion of the money supply, that is, that this is not money from primary note issue of the National Bank, but that it was issued illegally by the republics. That fact, however, does not bother the government of Serbia in the least when it regularly, at every one of its meetings, after singing the praises of its own "genial" measures, gives a good scolding to the federal monetary authorities who supposedly are spoiling everything with their bad conduct of money policy....

"The Board of Governors of the NBJ [National Bank of Yugoslavia] concluded at its last meeting that the national banks of the republics must finally file with the central bank the balance sheets of 'their own' commercial banks, that is, the complete balance sheet showing the business operation of financial institutions on their territory," explains Dr. Vukasin Markovic, vice governor of the NBJ. "At this point, the central bank does not possess that information, and without it cannot make any serious decisions concerning monetary policy. We have requested an accurate balance sheet showing the state of monetary flows that have occurred in the republics from 1 January to 31 June of this year so that the central bank can finally establish control over all irregular flows of money and halt them."

Pressure To Issue Money

Even the large quantity of irregular money in circulation is not managing to cover republic needs, and at the same time there is immense pressure on the National Bank for primary note issue. Thus, the money supply increased by 75.4 billion dinars (84 percent) in July alone, and that is

almost twice what was planned for the entire third quarter of this year. That growth has continued in August as well, but the precise figures are still unknown.

"The board of governors has established that primary note issue in the third quarter (July, August, and September) should grow by 40 billion dinars, of which 35 billion would be intended to purchase wheat, and the other five for other purposes," Markovic says. "But those limits have been exceeded considerably, because the assumptions on which we made that projection have not come about. That is, we foresaw that inflation in June would amount to 50 percent, and then in August and September it would drop to 23 percent. Instead of that, the rise of prices in July was 62 percent, and in August 42.4 percent, which automatically requires an increase in primary note issue in order to 'cover' those prices. That is, their average monthly growth in the third quarter will certainly not be less than 50 percent."

Because of all this, the republics are exerting strong pressure toward an increase of monetary limits for the third quarter, and the board of governors will be taking up those demands in its next meeting on 7 September. Particular emphasis has been put on the problem of the lack of money to purchase autumn farm crops, oilseed above all. Sunflower purchases will require 30.6 billion dinars, and soybeans 9 billion. If the funds are furnished for those purposes from primary note issue, that would mean that the limits envisaged for the third quarter have been doubled, that is, increased from 40 to 80 billion dinars. But it is hard to believe that the board of governors, with its new and fairly vigorous Governor Vuk Agnanovic heading it, will accept that.

Unfair Distribution

"The trouble is that because of the drought oilseed is arriving for purchasing a month earlier than usual," Markovic says. "The funds to purchase autumn crops have up to now always been furnished in the projection for the fourth quarter, but the drought has upset that. Some of the money for that purpose will have to be furnished, and the board of governors will decide how much that will be."

Although primary note issue for the third quarter will in the end probably exceed all limits that are even close to being reasonable, there will be many people in both republics who will remain dissatisfied with good reason. The trouble is that the entire note issue will be used for the production and purchasing of basic agricultural products, while the entire rest of the economy will come up short. There is no money to increase production, nor for restructuring the economy, nor for the preparation of exports....

It is expected that this kind of distribution of primary note issue will be particularly unsatisfactory to Montenegro, which in spite of everything cannot purchase grain. One Montenegrin deputy in the federal parliament put a question to the federal government in the last session—What does it intend to do to provide wheat to that republic? There is no grain to be purchased in the Federal Commodity Reserves, and Serbia is not going to give wheat to Montenegro from its reserves....

In the central bank, they are preparing a projection of monetary policy for the last quarter of this year and are promising that the distribution of primary money will be fairer. The limits will have to be much more restrictive, but there will be room in them for exporters, an increase of production, and other items. But we will just have to see whether that is actually the case.

Serbia

Jovic Proposes 'Principality of Serbian Lands'

AU2809193092 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 28 Sep 92

[Text] Mirko Jovic, leader of the Serbian National Renewal party, suggests that a new Serbian national state, the principality of Serbian lands, should be created on the territory of the Republic of Serbian Krajina and the Serb Republic [of Bosnia-Hercegovina]. Olivija Rusovac reports on the news conference held:

[Rusova] The new principality, which would be divided into duchies, should be headed by Prince Tomislav Karadjordjevic who, according to Jovic, is thinking about Serbia and is not preoccupied by the idea of Yugoslavia. Prince Aleksandar Karadjordjevic aspires to a Yugoslav crown anyhow.

The Serbian National Renewal party demands that elections at all levels be held by the end of the year, and accuses Depos [the Democratic Movement of Serbia] of not in fact wanting those elections. If Prime Minister Panic runs at the elections, he will be given a principled support by the Serbian National Renewal party. The party is telling the Federal Government not to sign any agreements on giving Prevlaka over to Croatia.

The Serbs are being politically persecuted in Pljevlja, Mirko Jovic said, and added that he hopes that the Montenegrin authorities will give up the crazy idea of accusing people of planning an armed rebellion.

The guest of the Serbian National Renewal party, Alexander Pavlovich Zagrebov, representative of the Pamyat Patriotic Front from Russia, explained that his visit was intended to help Serbia to remove sanctions and the information blockade. In reply to journalists' questions to him as a military expert, he said that Pamyat is firmly prepared to extend military help to Serbs in Bosnia-Hercegovina if such an invitation is sent. There has been no invitation so far. Jovic added that, as the situation is similar, it may soon happen that Serbian volunteers appear in Russia.

Problems of Radio Belgrade Reported

92BA1424E Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 4 Sep 92 p 10

[Article by B. Stasevic: "Disputes, Complaints, Penalties...."]

[Text] Following the upheavals this spring in Radio Belgrade, which culminated in the strike of personnel on the Second Program, it appeared that passions had quieted down somewhat and that the newly appointed chief editors would manage in some way to find a common language with their respective editorial staffs. At the end of the summer, however, the disagreement came to life, and the dissatisfaction of some of the journalists increased for one thing because of salary cuts.

Although August paychecks of all personnel of Radio-Television Serbia were considerably larger, in fact more than double, those of the previous month, the change in salaries was a convenient occasion to leave the "unfit" straggling behind their colleagues, to increase differences in salaries, and to "punish" monetarily those who are "idlers." The quotation marks are necessary because the basic problem between certain managers and a part of the editorial staff lies in disagreement over editorial policy and, stated in simplified form, the chiefs are not giving appropriate tasks to certain workers, that is, certain workers do not want to work in the manner their chiefs are proposing—and thus the real question is whether and how particular people have managed to earn their personal income and under what circumstances?

Unsuitable or Idlers?

The most recent occasion for debates within the organization was provided by Momir Brkic, editor in chief of the First Program, when he sent a recommendation to Milorad Vucelic, general director of Radio-TV Serbia, that no payment be made for August to Slobodan Stupar, Rade Radovanovic, Djure Vojinovic, and Dragutin Rokvic and that he seek reinstitution of disciplinary proceedings against the first two—although those already begun had not been completed, but were slowed up somewhat because of annual vacations. Members of the editorial staff of the First Program consider this an abuse of his official position; they say that salaries are being determined on the basis of orders by the director and without an official decision, and that no right of appeal has been allowed; they say that not a single member of the Independent Union of Radio-TV Serbia obtained a coefficient higher than 2.55, and they say that even if there had been decisions on suspension, salaries could not be reduced by more than 70 percent. The fact that Slobodan Stupar was left without a salary at a time when he had a decision granting him annual vacation, that is, when he possessed a guarantee of his worker rights, his colleagues consider completely unlawful. That is why Stupar and Radovanovic have appealed to an inspector of the Labor Ministry and they have also instituted criminal proceedings against their supervisor and hired three trade union lawyers.

If the discretionary rights of the chief editor may include the assignment of tasks (the objections concern the large share given to free-lancers and pensioners on the daytime program, sudden changes of sector in which journalists from the domestic department are reporting on international events, while staff members of the sports department are reporting on domestic political events, assignment of key political topics to beginners, and so on), these violations of the law and regulations require a comment from the editor in chief of the First Program. Here is how this was done by Momir Brkic.

Support of Listeners of the Former Yugoslavia

"I have just appeared as a witness in court concerning the disciplinary proceedings that are under way, and until the dispute is concluded, I will not say anything except that as the general director I wrote a recommendation that disciplinary proceedings be reinstituted, because the first ones were dragged out, and the colleagues in question have not been working for months, because allegedly they do not agree with editorial policy. I am also reluctant to comment on the other objections, which are among the weapons of people who defend themselves at any price and show no readiness to reach agreement or to cooperate. Nevertheless.... Why, for instance, should our prestigious columnists who are retired not appear from time to time on the program? Does not the editorial staff need to constantly bring in younger people—and people have come after tests and real professional verification? Were we wrong in having hired certain colleagues who were refugees, making it possible for them to make a living, and at the same time they are all doing excellent and conscientious work? All the members from the old editorial staff have been given the jobs they wanted and they are all at work except Radovanovic and Stupar, and now Vojinovic and Rokvic. There are work duties, there is the payroll, and under the collective agreement no one can receive pay if he is not working. Final decisions on everything, including the coefficients, are made in the office of the general director. I can say that I myself am not happy with the reduction of my own coefficient and I feel that some of the people in the First Program are lagging unjustifiably behind other sectors in Radio-TV Serbia and are the backbone of this program of ours. That is why I will insist on a revision, although the most important thing for me is that our program not be challenged by our audience and that it have a great deal of meaning for people all over the former Yugoslavia, including our people on other continents, who are reached by certain programs carried by satellite," says Momir Brkic.

While the journalists on the First Program complain that there has been a change in the "blood picture" in the editorial staff, the journalists of the Second Program say that some of their programs have been completely diluted and have lost their former physiognomy.

It is obvious that relations in Radio Belgrade are not straightening out, that the situation is full of disagreements and tension, and that there still have not been the right solutions as to personnel and programs in this old and prestigious media institution.

[Box, p 10]

Disagreements of Newsmen of Radio-TV Belgrade

The Executive Committee of the Association of Independent Journalists of Radio-TV Belgrade has filed a request with the Managing Board of Radio-Television Serbia, the Ministry of Information, and the government of Serbia that Radio-Television Serbia be "purged of people who represent an open wound and who are hindering it in performing the tasks in its program."

The occasion for this announcement is the recent letter of journalists belonging to the Independent Trade Union of Radio-TV belgrade to the public in which they call for removal of supervisory personnel in Radio-Television Serbia who have "abused their position to carry out ideological showdowns."

Yesterday's press release stated that this demand had aroused "indignation in the collective" and that this involves a "militant group that had proven itself to be anti-Serb," operating "under the wing of the Independent Trade Union."

Hiding behind the demand for alleged defense of their profession, yesterday's press release states, this group is continuing to operate destructively in our collective and is thus causing great damage both to the profession and to the vital interests of the Serbian people.

The press release sent to government bodies and Radio-Television Serbia points out that the "other side" is made up of "minor figures and still more minor professionals who do not enjoy prestige in the collective."

Kosovo

Trial of 19 Ethnic Albanians Begins in Pec

LD2809214992 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1651 GMT 28 Sep 92

[Text] Pec, Sept 28 (TANJUG)—A trial of 19 members of the 'National Front of Albanians', charged with intending to stage an armed rebellion to break the Serbian province of Kosovo-Metohija (Kosmt) from Serbia and Yugoslavia and set up an independent state or annex it to Albania, began in Pec on Monday [28 September].

Kosovo-Metohija is the southern Serbian province. Ethnic Albanians living there have in the recent past accounted for most of its population. Their political leaders are conducting a separatist policy.

The 19 members are charged with buying a number of foreign-made automatic rifles, guns, bombs and ammunition at the suggestion of foreign military experts, smuggling the arms into the country and distributing them among themselves.

They are indicted for robbing textiles and organizing the sewing of military uniforms, marking them with Albanian military insignia, and for conducting military training of their members on several occasions.

Defendant Mentor Kachi (40), a senior at the law college and a goldsmith from Djakovica, confessed he had worked on organizing the political organization 'National Front of Albanians' in 1990-1991 and that he discussed 'the defence of Kosovo in case of war' with Albanian officers during his visit to Albania.

Kachi also amitted he had smuggled [words indistinct] amount of weapons from Switzerland.

Before the trial began, the court overruled as unfounded the defence attorneys' request to adjourn the trial and turn the case over to an international institution.